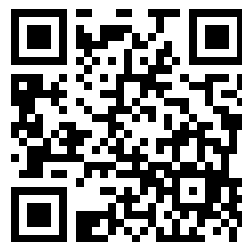


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**HISTORY OF THE  
ROYAL MUNSTER FUSILIERS**







"THE COLOURS," WINCHESTER CATHEDRAL, 1871.

FOR PRIVATE CIRCULATION ONLY.

# HISTORY OF THE ROYAL MUNSTER FUSILIERS

**VOL. I.**  
FROM 1652 TO 1860.

*By*  
CAPTAIN S. McCANCE.

PRINTED BY  
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## PREFACE

SHORTLY after the order was received that the Regiment was to be disbanded steps were taken to arrange for the production of a comprehensive history of the Regiment. Considerable sums were furnished by both the Regular Battalions from their funds, and a Committee was appointed to supervise its production. The senior member, Colonel David Johnston, the "Father of the Regiment," unfortunately died before he saw the completion of the work for which he strove so long. His spirit has, however, permeated the whole enterprise. The Committee has endeavoured to produce a work which shall be not only worthy of the occasion, but within the financial reach of all ranks of the Regiment who have kept touch with its remaining institutions. This end, it is hoped, has been achieved, and a copy of this work is being presented gratis to every member of the Regiment who belonged to the Munster Club, or belongs to the Old Comrades Association. It has been found possible to do this without inviting individual subscriptions.

The Regiment owes a very great debt of gratitude to Captain S. McCance, our historian, who has worked for nearly five years to collect and sift the mass of evidence on which the work is based. Colonel P. R. Innes, the author of the old Regimental History, provides the main source of information for the first two hundred years of the Regiment's existence, but in addition to this assistance has been readily accorded on all sides. "The Second Munsters in France" forms the basis of the account of the fighting done during the Great War by the 2nd Battalion. The ready help of the following must be acknowledged:—The late Lieut.-General Sir H. S. G. Miles, Lieut.-General Sir H. E. Belfield, Colonel A. M. Bent, Lieut.-Colonels S. T. Banning, R. Monck-Mason, G. S. Ormerod, H. E. Tizard; Majors H. B. Holt, G. W. Nightingale, C. R. Williams; Captains C. J. D. Lanktree, A. L. B. Stevens, Serjeant-Majors W. J. Callaghan, R. P. D. Jones, and J. Ring. Mr. R. H. Headley, M.B.E., of the India Office, gave every assistance with the records there to the historian.

And finally, we must register our appreciation of the unremitting toil and care which Messrs. Gale & Polden have shown in the production of the History.

Should the Regiment ever be raised again this record of their forerunners cannot but provide inspiration to those who will in the future be the heirs of the traditions gathered by The Royal Munster Fusiliers.

H. S. JERVIS, *Colonel,*

G. W. GEDDES, *Lieut.-Colonel.*

*Royal Munster Fusiliers Regimental History Committee.*





## FOREWORD

THE record of the part taken in the Great War by the Regiment was put in hand shortly after its conclusion, when events were still fresh in the minds of those who had taken part in it, and it has been decided to embody this record in a complete history of the Regiment. The previous history\* is out of print, and is carried down only to 1861, when the two Battalions passed to the Crown after many years of service with the Honourable East India Company. Captain McCance has asked me to express his indebtedness to Lieut.-Colonel Innes's admirable work.

To the very real grief of all who belonged or had belonged to the Regiment, its disbandment took place on July 31st, 1922. In anticipation of this event, His Majesty the King graciously consented to the Colours of the 1st and 2nd Battalions of the Regiment being deposited in Windsor Castle. When this was done on June 10th, 1922, His Majesty received the Colours in person, and presented to the two Commanding Officers an autograph letter which contained the following words acknowledging the services of the Regiment :—

“ Your great deeds, extending in all over a period of two hundred and sixty years, are written too clearly in the history of the Empire for anything lightly to efface them. . . . Meanwhile, be very sure that, with or without external monument, the fame of your great work can never die. I thank you for your good service to this Country and the Empire, and with a full heart I bid you Farewell.”

This history shows that His Majesty's gracious words were fully justified.

H. S. G. MILES, *Lieut.-General,*  
*Colonel, Royal Munster Fusiliers.*

YORKFORD,  
SUFFOLK,

*April 20th, 1926.*

[The draft of the above foreword was found amongst the papers of Lieut.-General Sir Herbert S. G. Miles, G.C.B., G.C.M.G., G.B.E., C.V.O. (Colonel of the Regiment), after his death, which occurred on May 6th, 1926. To the last he interested himself actively in the affairs of the Regiment. An account of his military career will be found elsewhere.]

\* “ The History of the Bengal European Regiment, now the Royal Munster Fusiliers, and how it helped to win India.” By Lieut.-Colonel P. R. Innes.

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# THE ROYAL MUNSTER FUSILIERS

## BENGAL EUROPEAN BATTALION

### CHAPTER I

**FORMATION OF THE ORIGINAL COMPANIES—LOSS OF CALCUTTA—FORMATION OF "THE BENGAL EUROPEAN BATTALION"—BATTLES OF CHITPORE—PLASSEY—CONDOR—MASULIPATAM—BIDERRA.**

*Reference Maps Nos. 1, 2, 3, 4, 5. Pages 206, 12, 18, 28.*

To understand the formation of the nucleus from which sprang "The Bengal European Regiment," the forefather of "The Royal Munster Fusiliers," it is necessary to work back to the year 1600.

On December 31st of that year Queen Elizabeth granted a charter to a corporation formed in London entitled "The Company of Merchants of London trading unto the East Indies." Early in 1613 a firman from the Mogul Emperor was issued to the Company for the establishment of a factory at Surat, near Bombay; this was the first settlement of the British in India.

The Company prospered, and by 1625 a factory was established at Masulipatam, followed in 1640 by the concession of Madras.

Then we come to Bengal. On February 2nd, 1634, a firman was given to the Company by the Emperor Shah Jehan, permitting the establishment of factories in Bengal; the British ships were, however, only allowed to use the port of Piplee on the Ganges.

In 1645 an unexpected extension of the Company's power in Bengal was obtained. The Emperor had a favourite daughter who had been seriously burnt, and Mr. Gabriel Broughton, surgeon on the Company's ship *Hopewell*, being sent to attend her, made such a success of the case that the Emperor, overcome with gratitude, said he would grant Broughton anything he might ask for. Broughton's request was that permission should be given to the Company to establish a factory at Hoogli; this was granted by the Emperor, and a prosperous trade soon sprang up. It was necessary from the first to have some form of guards at these factories, and to these guards may be traced the beginnings of the three Presidential Armies which rendered such splendid service to the Company till November 1st, 1858, when they passed under the control of the Crown.

B



The Army in India may be said to have originated in Bombay, where in March, 1668, a detachment of the King's troops\* were offered and accepted service under the Company, on the handing over of the Island of Bombay by King Charles II to the Company.

About this time the force in Bengal is described as "an ensign and 30 men to do honour to the principal agent"†; whilst Bruce states that in 1681 Mr. Hedges was sent from Madras as "agent and governor of the affairs in the Bay of Bengal, and of the factories subordinate to it at Kassimbazar, Patna, Balasore, Malda, and Dacca. A corporal of approved fidelity and courage, with twenty soldiers to be a guard to the agent's person, and the factory at Hoogly, and to act against interlopers."

In 1685 six companies of infantry were sent from England, and a detachment from Madras for the purpose of establishing the position of the Company in Bengal; but in 1689 the settlements in Bengal were given up, and the whole force returned to Madras: the settlements were re-established in 1690, and by the end of the year the force amounted to a company of 100 men under Captain Hill.

Captain John Goldesborough, who had arrived in Madras in 1692, on appointment to the command of all the Company's forces in India, when on a tour of inspection to Bengal in 1694, ordered the establishment to be reduced to 2 serjeants, 2 corporals, and 20 privates.

The Mogul emperors had always shown the greatest dislike to the erection of any form of fortification at the factories, but in 1697 a dangerous revolt, under Rajah Subah Sing, against the Emperor's authority, having broken out in Bengal, gave the opening that was wanted, and the agent, Mr. (afterwards Sir) Charles Eyre, applied to the local Nawab for permission to fortify the factory at Chattanuttee, the modern Calcutta. This being given, it was decided to erect a fort, which was to be called "Fort William," in honour of King William III, and at the same time Bengal was declared a separate presidency.

About this time the Factory Records at the India Office show the cost per month for "military" as about 1,000 rupees. This would work out at about a strength of 120 officers and men, but no further details are given in these Records.

In a letter from Bengal to the Court of Directors, dated December 24th, 1702, occurs the following: "The flag was hoisted the sixth of October in the same manner as is done at Fort St. George, to the great satisfaction of the inhabitants. . . ."

By 1707 "the works at Fort William were respectable, with a number of guns, and 125 soldiers, of whom half were Europeans."‡ In October it was settled that a hospital should be erected for the use of the soldiers and

\* This was the Regiment, of 400 men, raised in 1662 by Sir Abraham Shipman, Knt., for service in the East Indies; it was afterwards designated "2nd Battalion Royal Dublin Fusiliers."

Orme, Vol. II, book vi, p. 10.

‡ Bruce.

sailors, and in February, 1710, that "the Hospitall be walled round and that Barricks be made in it for the Soldiers to lodge in, and that some of the officers doe likewise lodge there and see a good Decorum kept amongst them."

During the hundred years or so in which the Company had been trading in India the strength and constitution of the military forces in the three Presidencies had gone through many changes, but by 1710 each had more or less the organization and disposal of their own forces.

The white portion of the armies was composed of detachments sent out from England, supplemented by European mercenaries, deserters, prisoners of war, sailors from the Company's ships, etc.

The earliest Muster Rolls for Bengal, at the India Office, start in January, 1718, but a still earlier Roll\* is to be found in the Bombay Rolls for August, 1716, when two companies are shown :—(1) "Captain Henry Dellebar's," and (2) "Captain Richard Hunt's," both for the months of August, September and October, mustered and paid at Fort William on November 22nd and 24th, 1716, respectively.

A copy of these Rolls will be found in the Appendix, and the following acts appear from a study of these and the later ones. The Officer Commanding held the local rank of "Captain" only, receiving the pay of "Lieutenant." There seems to have been some sort of battalion organization, as Dellebar's Company included a "Gentleman-at-Arms" (in December, 1720, designated "Master-of-Arms," abolished in 1741), "Marshall" (abolished in 1738), "Drum-Major" (January, 1719), "Serjeant-Major" (December, 1720)—ranks not mentioned in the other company.

Detachments consisting of a few men under a non-commissioned officer, with occasionally an officer, were stationed at Kassimbazar, Patna, Dacca, etc. In addition to these detachments, we find in August, 1716, two privates detailed as "His Honour's Guard," presumably for the Agent; and in 1728 two serjeants were allocated "to attend the Mayor's Court," in addition to one serjeant and four European privates for his Honour's Guard, now termed "the Governor's Guard."

In the Appendix "S"† will be found a Roll of the Officers from August, 1716, to December, 1730; after that date the Rolls at the India Office are fairly clear and straightforward (the Rolls from 1751 to 1761 are missing, however). These Rolls show, amongst other things, that Major Robert Hunt, who commanded in 1720, must have died in 1731, as in the Roll for 1732 "a Lieutenant" is placed on the Roll of the 1st Company "as allowance for widow Hunt."

From about January, 1727, till 1749 there were three companies on the Rolls, but in 1750 these were increased to five: Major John Holland's (129 effectives), Captain George Minchin's (109), Captain Thomas Fenwick's (122), Captain Charles Butterwick's (114), and Captain David Clayton's (121).

\* See Appendix "A," p. 210.

† See Appendix "S," p. 228.

In 1732 the officer commanding the 1st Company is called the "Captain Commandant,"\* the officers commanding the other companies "Captain" only. The first "Captain Commandant" was William Holcombe; then came Captain Robert Hamilton, in 1746; Captain John Holland, in 1749, who died August 25th, 1751; then Captain George Minchin.

In the Bombay Muster Rolls, from November, 1737, till November, 1741,† "the Bengal detachment" is frequently mentioned. It seems to have been part of the 1st Bombay Company, under Captain Samuel Walker, and to have consisted of about 40 men to begin with, under Ensign John Davis; by July, 1740, it had dwindled to 14. There is then a Muster Roll of "the New Bengal Detachment" of 34 men, under Ensign John Crosse; by November, 1741, this had again dwindled to 2 serjeants and 4 Europeans.

In 1742 "musick" is mentioned for the first time, although, of course, drummers and a drum-major are to be found on the first Roll in 1716. The numbers of "musick" rose from four in each company in 1716 to seven in 1740. The names of the instruments are not given (they were probably fifes, two being attached as a rule to each company); the names of the men are Adrian Lamerson, Juball Mountain, John Periera, Charles Lewenberg. After 1751 the "musick" was not shown separately in the returns.

In 1752 the first hospital return is given, showing the man's name, disease, when entered, when discharged, or if dead. Most of the diseases were "fevers" or "flux," the average annual deaths being about thirty to forty per company. About this time a glance through the Roll of a company gives curious information as regards the religion (Protestant, Roman Catholic, Armenian, Lutheran, etc.), the native country (England, Ireland, Scotland, Holland, Switzerland, Brabant, Denmark, Lithuania, Saxony, Venice, Goa, Guinea, Prussia, China, Manilla, etc.), as well as the age, height (from 4 ft. 6 in. to 6 ft. 4 in.), where enlisted, etc., of the members of the Company.

In the same year, 1752, it appears from the Bengal Muster Rolls at the India Office that two companies, Captain James Chace's, 59 officers and men, and Captain Robert Sanderson's, with Lieutenants Joseph Bradford, Alexander Kirk, Ensigns John Kemp, William Keene, and 92 non-commissioned officers and men, were "on command" on His Majesty's sloop *Swallow* and the ship *Fort St. David* respectively; leaving Major George Minchin's, Captain Thomas Fenwick's, and Captain David Clayton's "in Garrison."

From the Captain's Log of the *Swallow* at the Public Record Office,‡ it is clear that these companies were dispatched to the assistance of Major Stringer Lawrence in the Madras Presidency. The Log states on January 11th "Came on Board 59 of the Company's soldiers to goe to the coast of Coremandell," and on the same day "sailed from hence the *Fort St. David*, country

\* Presumably because the Company had not appointed or would not appoint a Major for Bengal. At that time and for some time after Major was the highest rank in the Company's forces. Officers holding higher rank had commissions from the Crown.

† Vol. II, folios 431, 469, 523, etc. Vol. III, folios 23, 43, 49, 61, 109.

‡ Adm. 51/955, part 2.

ship"; on the 18th we find "at single anchor abreast Fort William"; on the 24th, "dropped the pilot"; and on February 11th, "arrived off Fort St. David, Fort saluted with 13 guns, returned an equal number, at noon sent ashore the Company's soldiers."

From the ship's Muster Roll of the *Swallow* at the Public Record Office,\* we get a complete list of the names of the company. Captain James Chace seems to have been the only officer on board, his subalterns, Lieutenant A. Kirk and Ensign J. Kemp, being on the *Fort St. David*, the other names being those of 3 serjeants, 3 corporals, 1 drummer, and 51 "centinels."

According to Orme,† Major Lawrence was forced to leave Trivadi and march to the relief of Trichinopoly. He left in Trivadi 150 Europeans and some sepoys; they were attacked on May 10th, and "Captain Chace, the commanding officer, sallying from the Fort, repulsed them; some days afterwards they renewed the attack, and were again repulsed by a detachment of 60 Europeans and 300 sepoys." This was in all probability the company from Bengal. The Fort was afterwards heavily bombarded by the French, and Captain Chace was forced to capitulate; "this so affected him that it threw him into a fever of which he died soon after at Pondicherry."

After this date all the Bengal Muster Rolls appear to be missing, being destroyed at the capture of Fort William most probably, and we are compelled to rely on the ordinary history of the time, despatches, etc., to carry us on up to the events which led to the formation of the Regiment on or immediately prior to December 22nd, 1756.

On the death in April, 1756, of Ali Verdee Khan, who had been the Nawab of Bengal since 1735, his great nephew, Surajah Dowlah, took possession of the Government of Bengal; he was of a profligate, perverse and cruel disposition. From his earliest youth he had shown violent hatred against the British, and on obtaining power at once proceeded with his plan of driving the British from his territories. He demanded that Mr. Drake, the Governor of Calcutta, should at once stop the strengthening of the fortifications of that city, which had been begun on the rumours of war with France. On this being refused, the Nawab left his capital, Murshedabad, with an army of 50,000 men and advanced on Calcutta. On June 1st he attacked and captured the factory at Kassimbazar, and on the morning of June 18th attacked the British outposts of the Fort of Calcutta.

Unfortunately, there was no energetic mind at the head of either the civil or military affairs, or there might have been a different result; had the labour and time expended on useless outworks been devoted to strengthening and repairing Fort William itself, the Nawab's army might have been set at defiance.

On June 10th the European women had been placed on board the Company's ship *Dodaly*, which dropped down the river, followed by all the other ships, leaving the Company's ship *St. George* as the only means of escape for

\* *Musters* 3474, Series I.

† Vol. I, p. 280.

the garrison. This means, however, failed, as the *St. George* struck a sandbank and remained fast.

The enemy renewed the attack on the 19th, capturing the church, Governor's house, etc. ; and again on the 20th, when the small garrison of 190 was further reduced. Capitulation was now inevitable ; at noon the enemy's fire ceased, and at 4 o'clock an officer of the Nawab advanced, and a parley ensued, but the enemy nevertheless gradually forced the eastern gate, cut down the palisades, and captured the western gate, and, further resistance being useless, the troops laid down their arms. About 5 o'clock the Nawab entered, and promised Mr. Holwell, who had originally commanded the 1st Company of Militia, *on the word of a soldier*, that no one should be injured. He then took his departure, and the unfortunate prisoners were confined in the common dungeon of the Fort, known as the *Black Hole*. There, in a space of about 18 feet square, 146 persons were confined, many of them wounded, and a scene of indescribable suffering and misery ensued. On the morning of June 21st only 33 came out alive ; they were set at liberty and rejoined their comrades at Govindpore, where the vessels were still at anchor. On June 26th all arrived at Fultah, then a place of some importance.

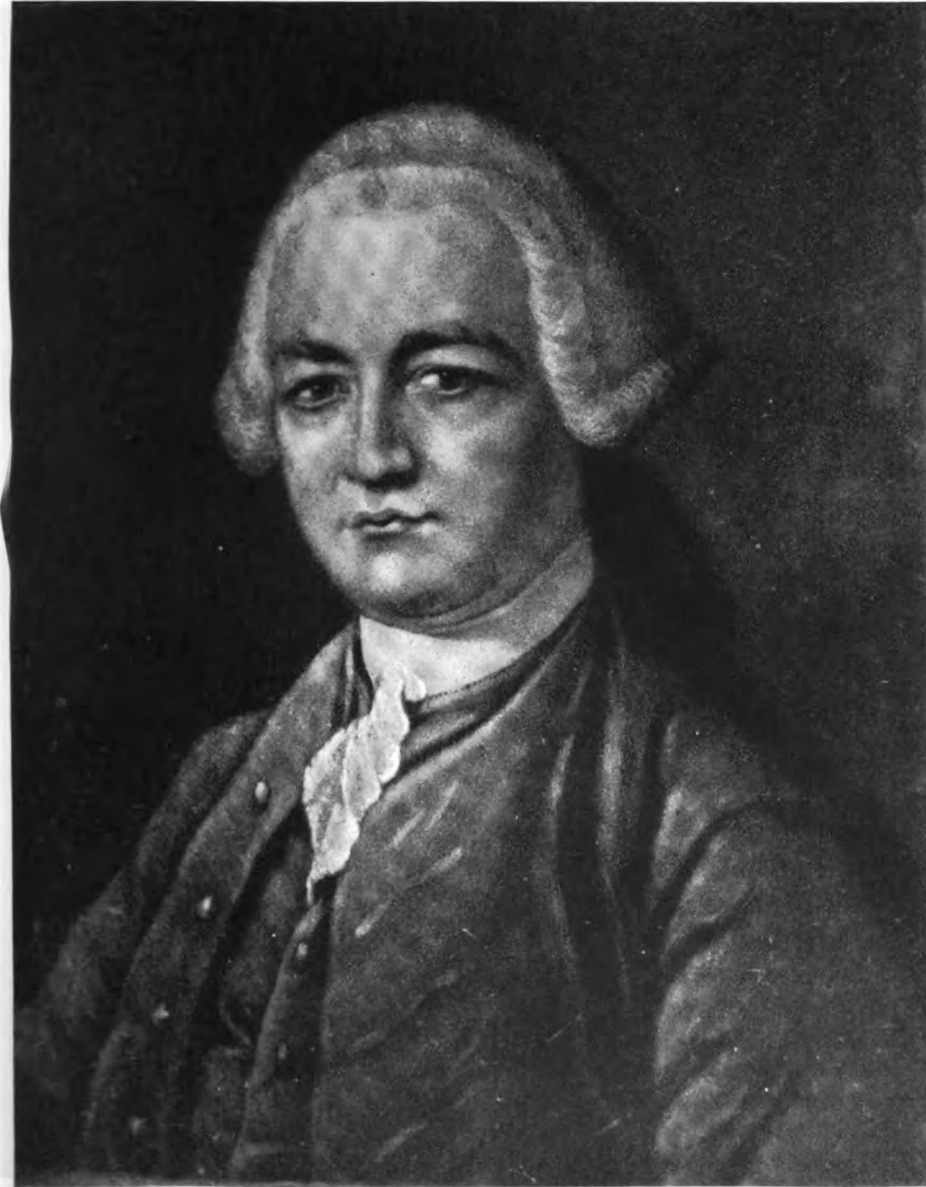
The Nawab had meanwhile plundered Calcutta, and then returned to Murshedabad, taking Mr. Holwell and Messrs. Court, Burdett, and Ensign Walcott with him. He, however, released them all shortly afterwards on the intercession of the French and Dutch agents, and they joined their comrades at Fultah.

On the receipt of the news at Madras on July 15th of the advance of the Nawab on Calcutta, a force of 230 troops, chiefly Europeans, under command of Major Kilpatrick of the Madras Service, was promptly mustered and dispatched on July 20th on board the *Delaware*, reaching Fultah on August 2nd. Kilpatrick did not feel himself strong enough to attempt the recapture of Calcutta, and therefore awaited instructions from Madras.

On August 5th the news of the capture of Calcutta and terrible story of the "Black Hole" reached Madras, and after much discussion the command of a second expedition was conferred on Lieut.-Colonel Robert Clive, who had been a "writer" in the service of the East India Company, and had subsequently distinguished himself both as a soldier and a politician. Clive had just returned to Madras from England, where King George II had rewarded him for his military services with a commission as Lieutenant-Colonel.

On October 16th the fleet set sail from Madras Roads. It consisted of the *Cumberland* (70 guns), the *Kent* (64), the *Tyger* (60), and the *Salisbury* (50) ; the *Bridgwater* (20 guns) ; a fire ship, three of the Company's ships, and two smaller vessels to act as transports.

The troops embarked were as follows :—Detachment His Majesty's 39th Regiment, 250 ; Madras European Regiment, 528 ; Madras European Artillery Company, 109 ; Lascars, 160 ; sepoys, 940 ; 12 field guns and one howitzer.



**LORD CLIVE.**  
**The first Colonel of the Regiment.**

5

[illegible]

The detachment of His Majesty's 39th Regiment was under command of Captain Archibald Grant, with whom were Captains Eyre Coote and Weller, Lieutenants Waggoner, Corneille, John Carnac, and Ensigns Martin Yorke, Gilbert Donellan, and Broadbrook. Of the five companies of the Madras European Regiment, only three reached their destination, the transports carrying the other two being disabled during the voyage ; these three companies were commanded by Captains F. Gaupp, Pye and Fraser. Amongst the officers attached were Lieutenants R. Campbell, T. Rumbold, and Joseph Adnot, Ensigns R. L. Knox, L. Maclean and H. Oswald ; the artillery were under command of Lieutenant William Jennings ; Captain Briggs, of the Madras Regiment, was aide-de-camp to Colonel Clive, and Mr. Walsh was Paymaster.

The last ship arrived at Fultah on December 20th, and the expedition was received with the greatest joy by the troops and refugees, as Major Kilpatrick's force had been reduced to between twenty and thirty men fit for duty through death and sickness.

Clive ordered the detachments scattered over the British zone in Bengal to be formed into one unit under Major Kilpatrick and named it "The Bengal European Battalion." These detachments were Kilpatrick's own men, the troops who had escaped from Calcutta, the various outlying parties which had come in from Dacca under Lieutenant Cudmore, from Baleshwar under Ensign Peter Carstairs, from Jugdeah under Ensign Grainger Muir, etc., and a company of volunteers formed from amongst the civilians who escaped from Calcutta and the out-factories ; these were collected together on December 16th, and a few days afterwards formed, under Major Kilpatrick's supervision, into one battalion.

Although the nucleus of the Battalion had existed, in some shape or other, in the form of companies for many years previously,\* it was not till this occasion that the different companies and detachments were enrolled as a regiment, and placed under one commander.

It appears quite clear from Colonel Clive's Diary, dispatched officially to the Court of Directors in February, 1757, that "The Bengal European Regiment" was organized by him on or immediately prior to December 22nd, 1756, for he notes, on that date, that the grenadiers and the artillery companies from the *Salisbury* and *Bridgwater* "joined the Battalion which was in the camp." This must have been "The Bengal European Battalion," for there was no other battalion in the camp, or indeed with his army.

As Major Kilpatrick was the second-in-command, under Colonel Clive, and as the remains of his detachment had been merged into "The Bengal European Battalion," it is highly probable that he was the first Commanding Officer of the reconstituted Regiment, but it is certain, at any rate, that it was under his supervision that it was organized.

\* "Government Gazette," No. 1010, 30th October, 1868.



The following is a nominal roll of some of the officers who first served with the Regiment :—

<i>Rank.</i>	<i>Name.</i>	<i>Remarks.</i>
Captain	Dugald Campbell	Joined the force from Bulramguri in the sloop <i>Dragoon</i> .
„	Mills ... ..	Escaped from Calcutta and made his way to Fultah.
„	Dickson ... ..	Ditto.
„	John Meadows ... ..	Ditto.
Lieut.	John Cudmore ... ..	Brought his European detachment from Dacca. Joined as a volunteer, Ensign, May 3rd, 1752.
„	Smith ... ..	Escaped from Calcutta and made his way to Fultah.
„	Wedderburn ... ..	Ditto.
„	de Beaume ... ..	Sent with despatches from Fultah to Madras ; returned with Clive's force.
Ensign	Walcot ... ..	Survived the " Black Hole " and escaped to Fultah.
„	Peter Carstairs ... ..	Brought his European detachment from Baleshwar.
„	Grainger Muir ... ..	Brought his European detachment from Jugdeah.
„	Moran ... ..	A civilian who survived the " Black Hole."
„	Douglas ... ..	—
„	Sommers ... ..	—
„	Carr ... ..	—
Surgeon	Nathaniel Wilson	In medical charge.

On December 27th, in consequence of a decision come to at a council of war, the force re-embarked and proceeded up river towards the Fort of Baj-Baj, on the left bank of the Hoogli.

On December 28th the force disembarked at Moyapore and joined seven companies of sepoys who had proceeded there by land. At 6 p.m. Clive marched northwards with the Regiment, the three companies of the Madras European Battalion, the Madras sepoys, the European artillery and two field-pieces, the troops being under the immediate command of Major Kilpatrick, with the object of gaining the road leading from Baj-Baj to Calcutta.

At 8 a.m. on the 29th the troops, by forced marches, gained the Calcutta road about three miles north of the Fort. At 9 a.m. the grenadier company and all the sepoys were detached towards the Fort, where they found that the King's troops, under Captain Coote, had landed and had silenced the enemy's fire.

Meanwhile the rest of the force, being thoroughly tired after sixteen hours' hard marching, bivouacked, and, piling their arms, were soon fast asleep, the spot selected being a large hollow about ten feet below the level of the country, surrounded by jungle. The ordinary precaution of posting sentries appears to have been unaccountably neglected, with the result that Manakchand, Governor of Calcutta, who had arrived to support his troops at Baj-Baj the previous day with a force of 1,500 horse and 2,000 foot, being informed by his spies of the position and state of the British force, determined to attack. He dispatched his infantry to seize the British guns and arms; the former were captured without a blow from the sleeping gunners, and a sharp fire was opened on the British, who stood to their arms immediately.

Clive, who under the most trying circumstances never lost his coolness, at once directed a platoon from the left and another from the centre to advance and drive the enemy back; the centre platoon lost 8 and the left 3 men before they reached the edge of the hollow, which they cleared with their bayonets. Meanwhile the Volunteer Company which was attached to the Regiment, joined by the artillery, recaptured the two guns and opened fire on the enemy.

The hostile cavalry were now observed advancing in force. Clive, having driven back the infantry, pushed forward under cover of the two guns, and a shot from one of the guns passing close to Manakchand's turban caused him suddenly to order a retreat towards Calcutta. Clive in his diary says: "Ensign Keir\* with 9 private men were killed, and 8 wounded." The enemy's loss was computed at 200 killed and wounded, 4 jemadars and one elephant killed, as well as 40 other elephants which perished by drowning in a creek.

The troops being utterly exhausted by this time, it was determined to storm the Fort at daybreak on December 30th, the storming party told off being the detachment of the 39th Foot, the grenadier company of the Regiment, 100 seamen and 200 sepoy.

At 8 a.m. a drunken sailor named Strahan, having wandered into the Fort, found it deserted except for the enemy's rearguard, who quickly took to flight, Captain Dugald Campbell,† of the Regiment, being unfortunately killed by accident whilst posting sentries over a captured magazine.

In the Fort were found 22 cannon, 33 barrels of powder, and some grain; the batteries were demolished, and the buildings inside the Fort were destroyed. On the evening of the 30th the European troops re-embarked for the attack on Calcutta, the sepoy marching along the river bank, and the artillery following in boats.

\* This must be an error in Clive's diary. Ensign Keir was not killed on this occasion, for he was present with the Regiment on February 28th, 1757. It is probable that he was wounded only, or that the name was mistaken for Ensign Charles Kerr, who was killed.

† The widow of this officer, who had escaped with her husband from Bulramguri to Fulta, married Warren Hastings (afterwards Governor-General of India), who was serving at the Battle of Baj-Baj as a Volunteer with the Regiment. Mrs. Hastings died at Kassimbazar, near Murshedabad, where she was buried. (Gleig's "Memoirs of Warren Hastings," Vol. I, p. 49.)

On January 1st the squadron anchored opposite the Forts of Tannah and Alighur, and the enemy abandoned both forts without firing a shot. On January 2nd at 5 a.m. the Regiment and three companies of the Madras European Regiment landed, accompanied by two field-pieces, and, joined by the sepoy, marched towards "Turnam's Gardens," on the road to Calcutta. On reaching the Gardens the enemy fled, leaving his guns. The fleet meanwhile opened fire on Fort William and drove the enemy from their batteries, and the boats at 10 a.m. landed a detachment of the 39th Foot, who quickly occupied the Fort, which had been in the enemy's possession for over six months, and Calcutta was again in possession of the British.

Information having been received that a portion of the treasure captured by Surajah Dowlah at Calcutta was hidden at the Fort and Town of Hoogli, a small force under Major Kilpatrick, consisting of about 200 Europeans together with 250 sepoy, and 150 sailors under Captain King, sailed from Calcutta on January 5th, and on the 10th the Fort, after slight resistance, was captured. The booty, however, fell far short of what had been expected.

Whilst this expedition was being carried out, the expected news arrived from Europe that war had been declared between Great Britain and France in the preceding May. It was feared that the French at Chandernagore, their settlement between Hoogli and Calcutta, would side with the Nawab, and it was accordingly determined to open negotiations with him once more, but the news of the capture and plunder of Hoogli so irritated the Nawab that he refused to listen to any overtures, and collected his whole army.

Clive lost no time in strengthening his position, and, deciding that the walls of Calcutta were too extensive to be successfully defended, he selected a site for an entrenched camp about a mile to the north of the town beyond the Mahratta ditch. This position was judicious, as to the east of the city the Salt Lake stretching towards the sea formed an impassable barrier to a hostile army, and rendered it difficult for the Nawab to advance on Calcutta except in sight of Clive's detachments.

On February 3rd the advance guard of the enemy was observed marching in the direction of Calcutta; Clive at once opened fire, but, darkness setting in, the British withdrew.

The Nawab, who had crossed the Hoogli on January 30th about ten miles above Hoogli Fort, commanded his army in person, and took up an extended position on the plain south-east of the city. His force was composed of 18,000 horse, 15,000 foot, 10,000 pioneers with 40 pieces of heavy cannon, and 50 elephants; "our little army, consisting only of 700 Europeans and 1,200 blacks, armed and disciplined after the English manner"\* with 14 field-pieces, nearly all 6-pounders.

\* See Clive's letter to Lord Hardwicke of February 23rd.

Clive determined to attack on the 4th, his plan being to make a bold dash at the enemy's artillery, which was massed in one large park, spike the guns, and then push on rapidly for the Nawab's headquarters, then situated at the Calcutta merchant

**Battle of  
Chitpore.**

Amichand's house, and if possible seize him and carry him off as prisoner, and thus end the war.

The British moved off about 3 a.m. ; half the sepoys were in advance, then followed the Regiment, the grenadiers of the King's troops and Company's detachments leading. After them came the artillery, the guns being guarded by some of the sailors from the fleet, the ammunition being carried by Lascars and guarded by the remainder of the sailors, the other half of the sepoys bringing up the rear.

Unexpectedly, the force came upon the enemy's outposts, who fled, after a hurried discharge of matchlocks. This put the enemy on their guard, and, together with the rise of a thick fog peculiar to Bengal at that period of the year, made the capture of the park of artillery by a *coup-de-main* impracticable. When the force arrived opposite to Amichand's garden, which was a few hundred yards to the right, Clive suddenly heard the Nawab's body-guard charging down on the British right flank from the garden. He halted his men and faced towards the advancing cavalry, and, waiting till he judged they were within a few yards, he poured in a deliberate and deadly volley, when the enemy turned and fled.

The advance was then continued, the fog getting thicker and thicker, platoons constantly firing on either hand, the guns in the rear sustaining an oblique fire from each side of the advancing troops.

Clive, having missed the enemy's artillery and having passed Amichand's garden, had to change his plans. He determined to march straight through the enemy's camp, knowing that his daring would overawe them, and then try to reach the causeway which was raised several feet above the level of the country with a small ditch on either side. The causeway was reached about 8 a.m., when the leading sepoys changed direction to the right, to attack the barricade which was known to be there. They came within range of the British guns, which were still firing obliquely forward ; in consequence several were killed, and in confusion they hastily sought cover in the ditches beside the causeway.

As soon as Clive ascertained the cause of this check, he ordered the whole force to pass the causeway and halt a little beyond. Whilst the Colonel was waiting for the return of some officers whom he had sent to examine the barricade, the enemy suddenly and unexpectedly opened fire from two of their guns which enfiladed the passage across the causeway, killing and disabling 22 Europeans.

Clive now attempted to extend his troops, but in the fog and confusion it was found impossible, and again he had to alter his plan of action, his objective now being to gain the main road leading to the Fort.

About 9 a.m. the fog began to lift, and disclosed the smallness of the British forces. Having re-formed his column, he advanced rapidly, passed the enemy's battery, and pushed on through the rice fields in the direction of the road to the Fort, being still fired on by the enemy battery and two other pieces near the road.

A determined charge was now made by the enemy's cavalry on the rear, the difficulties being enhanced by the field-pieces having been disabled ; one of these was gallantly recaptured by Ensign Yorke with a few Europeans. A charge now cleared a passage so that the main road was at last gained. The original intention of trying to capture the Nawab might still have been adhered to, but Clive considered that the troops were already too much exhausted, having been under arms for eight hours, marching and fighting for the greater part of the time. He accordingly retired along the main road through Calcutta, the Fort being reached about noon.

The British loss was heavy, amounting to 40 European infantry, 12 sailors, and 18 sepoy killed ; 78 European infantry, 12 sailors, and 55 sepoy wounded. Captains W. Pye and Timothy Bridges, of the Madras service, and Mr. Belcher (Private Secretary to Colonel Clive), were killed. The enemy's loss was computed at 1,300 killed and wounded.

In the evening the troops returned to their camp, marching along the banks of the river, within a quarter of a mile of the enemy's position.

Thus ended the Battle of Chitpore, which, taken altogether, may be considered to have been successful, the result was clearly shown next morning by the altered bearing of the Nawab, who made proposals of peace. To prove his friendliness he struck his camp and moved about three miles north-east of the Salt-water Lake, beyond Dum-Dum.

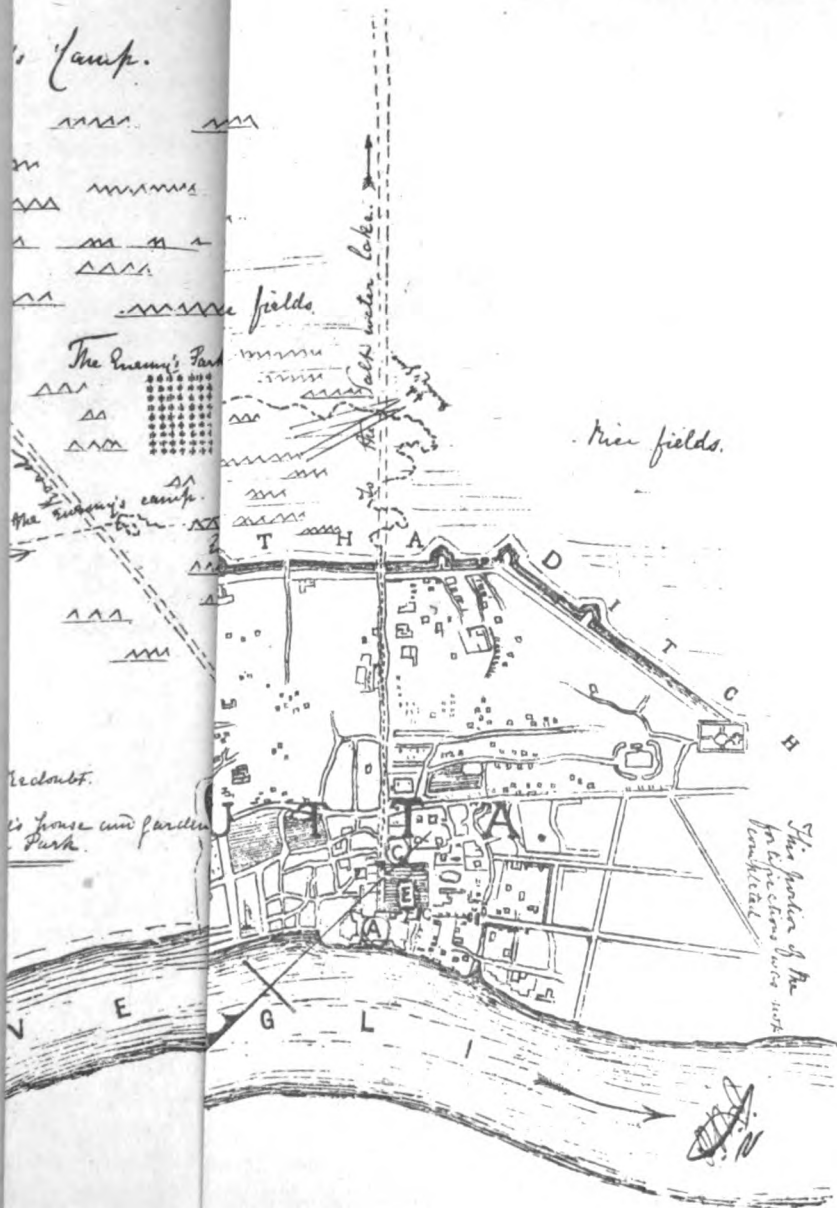
At last, on February 9th, satisfactory terms were arranged. The Nawab agreed to restore the Company's factories, giving permission to the British to fortify Calcutta, to coin gold and silver at their own mint, and hold their merchandise exempt from duty, and further, the thirty-eight villages granted to the British by the Embassy in 1717 were to be restored.\*

On February 11th Clive had a further success as the Nawab, who marched a few miles on his return homeward, sent khilats or dresses of honour to Colonel Clive and the Admiral, and proposed a further treaty of alliance, offensive and defensive, against all enemies. This was signed as quickly as possible and returned to the Nawab.

Since the formation of the Regiment in December, 1756, great changes had taken place in its material. Clive, on the recapture of Calcutta, had reinstated and formed into levies some of the old Bengal sepoy, who had fled from the Settlement when it was captured by the Nawab Surajah Dowlah in June, 1756, and these new levies were now officered from the Regiment. Again, the names of some of the original officers had disappeared from the lists, the records not showing what had become of them. Captain Dugald

\* Orme, Book VII, p. 136.

Map N° 3.



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Campbell and Ensign Charles Kerr were killed in the action of Baj-Baj, and Ensign Walcot had died from the effects of his sufferings in the "Black Hole."

Captains Mills, Dickson, Meadows, and Grant; Lieutenants Cudmore, Smith, and Wedderburn; Ensigns Carstairs, Douglas, Somers, and Moran had become non-effective, although some of them rejoined the Battalion afterwards. Lieutenant John Fraser had been promoted to a company in succession to Captain Campbell deceased, and on the same day Ensign Carstairs was promoted Lieutenant, to do duty with the sepoy troops. Lieutenant Cudmore was promoted Captain-Lieutenant, and Lieutenants Dyer and Keir and Ensigns Prichard, Rider, and Delabare, and Adjutant Gibbons still remained with the Regiment.

From a return signed by Commissary P. R. Peakes, and laid before the Council on February 28th, 1757, it appears that the Regiment mustered on that date only 250 effective officers and men, including 38 artillery attached.

The Volunteer Company was reduced to 13 men, many who had served as volunteers having returned to their original callings when Calcutta was recaptured.

The following is a nominal roll of the officers present with the Battalion on February 28th, 1757\* :—

Captain Grainger Muir.	Lieutenant Keir.
Captain Lebeaume.	Ensign Prichard.
Captain John Fraser.	Ensign Rider.
Capt.-Lieut. Peter Carstairs.	Ensign Delabare.
Lieutenant Dyer.	Adjutant William Gibbons.

Clive now determined on attacking Chandernagore, and with his whole available force crossed the Hoogli on February 18th. The French, taking alarm at the British preparations, besought the Nawab, "for his own safety," to render them his protection. This argument had the desired effect, and the Nawab wrote to Clive positively forbidding him to attack the French, forwarded a lakh of rupees to the French at Chandernagore, and dispatched 1,500 men to the Governor of Hoogli ordering him to render the French every assistance in the event of their being attacked by the British.

On receipt of this intelligence, Admiral Watson and Colonel Clive wrote to the Nawab that in compliance with his request they had withdrawn their troops from that side of the river.

News reached the Council in Calcutta that reinforcements from Bombay had arrived at the mouth of the River Hoogli, consisting of two strong companies of the Bombay European Regiment and a detachment of artillery.

\* Broome says that Captain Christian Fischer, a Danish officer, joined the Regiment on February 7th, 1757; but though his name does not appear in the roll laid before the Council on February 28th, he was present with the Regiment at the Battle of Plassey, June 23rd, 1757.



The French settlement of Chandernagore was situated on the Hoogli, about thirty miles above Calcutta, being about two miles in length along the river bank, and one and a half miles inland, the Dutch settlement adjoining it to the north.

**Capture of  
Chandernagore.**

On March 7th Clive commenced his advance, and on the 14th sighted Chandernagore. His force consisted of the Regiment and the detachments of the Bombay and Madras European Regiments; after leaving a garrison at Calcutta, the total number was about 700 European infantry. In addition, Clive had about 150 European artillery and 1,500 sepoys. An important part of the expedition was the fleet, consisting of the *Kent*, *Tiger*, and *Cumberland*, with detachments of His Majesty's 39th Regiment acting as marines.

On advancing from the westward, on the 14th, Clive drove back the enemy's skirmishers, and compelled the French to spike the guns of a four-gun battery; and when night fell, to take refuge within the Fort, called Fort d'Orleans. The next day the British occupied the town. The 16th and 17th were employed in landing guns under heavy fire from the Fort, notwithstanding which, a battery on the banks of the river was occupied, and three 32-pounders placed in position. These latter guns were silenced on the following morning, and on the 21st the enemy's fire beat down a house near one of our batteries. By the evening of the 22nd the battery was repaired and strengthened, so that the three guns were again in action.

On the morning of the 23rd the men-of-war were moved into position, and a heavy cannonade was commenced, some eighty guns firing simultaneously, in addition to the attack by the troops. One after another, the enemy's guns were dismounted, and his fire slackened perceptibly. For two hours more the battle raged, and at nine o'clock a white flag was seen floating on the walls of the Fort, and the combat suddenly ceased. The Admiral sent Captain Eyre Coote, of His Majesty's 39th Regiment, ashore to receive the French proposals, and at 3 p.m. the British took formal possession of the Fort.

The British naval loss was severe, being 15 officers and 165 men killed and wounded; the military loss was trifling, not exceeding thirty or forty killed and wounded during the siege.

In a General Muster of the troops under the command of Colonel Clive in camp at Chinsura, dated April 7th, 1757, occurs the following:—

		Adjt.	Q.M.	Vols.	Sjts.	Drs.	Centls.
Bengal Troops	Captain Grant	—	—	3	3	1	38
	Captain Muir	—	—	3	3	2	50
	Captain Cudmore	—	—	3	3	1	63
	Captain Fraser	1	1	3	9	6	117

Captain Grant, Lieutenant Dyer, Ensigns De Lubers, Verelst.

Captain Muir, Captain-Lieutenant Carstairs, Ensigns Maclean, Ellis.

Captain Cudmore, Ensigns David, Prichard, Champion.

Captain Fraser, Lieutenant Keir, Ensigns Gibbons, Barnes.

The Nawab, on hearing of the loss of the French Settlement,\* flew into a rage, but, alarmed at the news that part of his dreaded enemy Ahmed Shah Durani's force was marching to invade the province of Behar, dissembled his anger, and wrote to the Admiral and Colonel Clive congratulating them on their recent success.

After the capture of Chandernagore, Clive withdrew the bulk of his army to Calcutta. Had he obeyed the orders received from the Madras Government, he would have returned with the main body of his troops to Madras; but feeling that his work in Bengal was not complete, he determined at all hazards to remain. His force was camped to the north of the town of Hoogli, where it could either overawe or act against the Nawab.

About the middle of April the Nawab became aware that the reported invasion of his province was false. Plucking up courage, he determined to free himself from the thralldom imposed on him by the Calcutta Council. He was, however, not only threatened from without, but, by his temper and insolent bearing, had alienated even those whose interests might have induced them to support him. Of all these, Mir Jafar Khan,† who commanded his army, was the basest and worst, for he entered into an arrangement with the British to secure for himself the Viceregal throne, and promised enormous sums to the East India Company, the English inhabitants of Calcutta, the Navy, the Army, the Council, etc.

The plot matured, and under Clive's guidance relations between the British and the Nawab were strained to the utmost. It was pretended that the Nawab's force at Plassey caused umbrage to the Council at Calcutta. In fact, Clive secretly intended to make his attack on Murshedabad from that place.

The Nawab now became suspicious of all round him, whilst his relations with Mir Jafar Khan were so hostile that he prepared to attack him in his palace.

In the meantime Clive sent instructions to Mr. Watts, the British Resident, to prepare to make his escape, and on June 13th Watts did so, riding into Clive's camp the next day.

On hearing of Mr. Watts' flight, the Nawab for the first time realized his perilous position, and promptly effected a reconciliation with Mir Jafar Khan, and then veered round to an attitude of defiance towards the English.

The time had now come for Clive to throw off the mask, so, dismissing the Nawab's ambassadors from the camp, he charged them with a despatch in which he said the British Army was now marching on Murshedabad, and they were to refer any complaints they had to the decision of the principal

\* On peace being established in 1763, Chandernagore was restored to the French; but when hostilities broke out in 1794 it was again seized by the British, restored by treaty in 1802, retaken the same year, and held by the British till the peace in 1815; finally made over to the French, December 4th, 1816.

† Mir Jafar Khan was married to the sister of Ali Vardi Khan (the late Nawab) and was consequently uncle to Surajah Dowlah.

officers of their Government, to which arbitration it was hoped the Nawab would acquiesce, and spare the effusion of blood.

These arbiters were men bound to support the British cause, bankers smarting under the extortions of the Nawab, or men of influence who had promised their support to the British plot.

Clive now made final arrangements for the advance, all the troops that could be spared marching from Calcutta on June 12th for Chandernagore. Leaving there on the 13th, the British troops with the field-pieces, stores and ammunition and 150 sailors were towed up the river in 200 boats, the sepoy marching along the right bank.

The ranks of the Regiment had been considerably augmented by a great many French prisoners, released on condition of their taking service with the British. There were also many Dutch, some Germans, and other foreigners; some sailors of the *Kent*—their ship having been condemned—also enlisted.

On June 16th the army reached Pulti, about twelve miles from the Nawab's Fort of Kutwah; but when Major Eyre Coote advanced with an imposing force, including a detachment of the Regiment, and summoned the garrison of the Fort to surrender, the Governor refused.

**Capture of the  
Fort of Kutwah.**

Major Coote, first opening fire, dispatched a body of Europeans, who effected a passage across the river, when the enemy, firing some buildings adjoining the Fort, took flight. The troops immediately occupied the town and Fort; the main army, arriving the same evening, encamped on the plain outside the deserted town.

Clive was now within a few miles of the Plains of Plassey, where the fate of the British Army—and, indeed, of British rule in Bengal—was to be decided. He had up till now unhesitatingly pressed forward to accomplish his masterpiece of diplomacy, but when the moment had arrived for action he hesitated.

**Battle of  
Plassey.**

For the first time in his life Clive felt he must have recourse to a Council of War—the first and last he ever called. The Council which assembled the next day consisted of the following:

Lieut.-Colonel Clive, in command;

Major James Kilpatrick, second-in-command, and commanding the Regiment;

Major Eyre Coote, 39th Regiment, etc.;

and the following officers of the Regiment—Captains Grainger Muir, Christian Fischer, Lebeaume, and Captain-Lieutenant Peter Carstairs.

With Clive, twelve officers voted "against immediate action"; amongst them were Captains Fischer and Lebeaume. With Major Coote, six voted "for immediate action"; amongst them were Captains Muir and Captain-Lieutenant Carstairs.

This decision of the Council did not relieve Clive's anxiety ; but, on the contrary, he appears to have been much impressed with Major Coote's arguments, and by the evening had determined to fight.

The whole of the 20th was spent in crossing the river.

Before sunrise on June 22nd the troops were *en route*, and by 4 p.m. the whole force was across the river. After a fatiguing march of over eight hours, under a deluge of rain and with the water often rising to their waists, the troops reached Plassey, a distance of fifteen miles, at 1 a.m. on June 23rd.

Here they took up their position in a grove of mango-trees,\* from which they could hear the drums and music of the Nawab's army, and after posting sentries the weary men were soon asleep.

Clive had under his command 950 European infantry, 100 European artillery with eight 6-pounders and two howitzers, 50 sailors, and some 2,000 sepoys. The position of the troops faced north ; on the left flank was the river, on the right the open plain. About a mile to the rear was the village of Plassey ; three-quarters of a mile in front was a large mound surrounding a tank, beyond the latter being two redoubts, one forming part of the enemy's entrenchments, the other slightly in advance. Near the mango grove was a small hunting lodge, occupied by Clive on his arrival.

The enemy's army consisted of 35,000 infantry and 15,000 cavalry, and 53 guns—32-, 24- and 18-pounders, directed by Monsieur St. Frais, a Frenchman, with a small body of French soldiers working their own guns.

At daybreak on June 23rd the enemy moved out of his entrenchments. St. Frais and his party with four light guns occupied the large mound to the north of the grove, supported by a body of 7,000 foot and 5,000 horse under Mir Mudin, the Nawab's best and only faithful general.

The enemy's main army was in three divisions, that of Mir Jafar on the extreme left, the right rested on the redoubt which formed part of his entrenchments, and circling round completely outflanked the British.

Clive drew up his troops in front of the grove, their left resting on the hunting lodge, and formed his European troops into four battalions : the first, under Major Kilpatrick, was composed of the detachment of the Madras European Regiment ; the second, under Major Archibald Grant, of the Regiment ; the third, under Major Eyre Coote, of the detachment of His Majesty's 39th Regiment ; and the fourth under Major G. F. Gaupp, of the detachment of the Bombay European Regiment. The four European battalions Clive placed in the centre of his line, flanked by 1,000 sepoys on either side, and his six guns between and slightly in advance of his European and native battalions.

The French fired the first shot about 8 a.m., which killed one and wounded another of the grenadier company of the Regiment. This was followed by the fire of the whole of the enemy's artillery. The two howitzers replied to the French artillery, and the other batteries of the enemy were answered by

\* The last of these trees did not disappear till about 1880.

the 6-pounders from the line. After half an hour, during which he lost 10 European and 20 sepoy killed and wounded, Clive ordered the troops to retire under cover of the grove, where they were well sheltered behind the mud banks. At about 11 a.m., Clive held a conference, and decided to maintain the cannonade during the day, and at midnight to make an attack on the Nawab's camp. At twelve o'clock a heavy shower of rain commenced, deluging the plain and damaging most of the enemy's ammunition, which caused their fire to lessen, and equalized the fight.

Meanwhile, Mir Mudin had been mortally wounded during an attack on the grove, and the Nawab was urged to return to the capital. This insidious advice was adopted, and after having issued orders for his troops to retire within their entrenchments, he fled on a fleet camel, accompanied by about 2,000 horsemen.

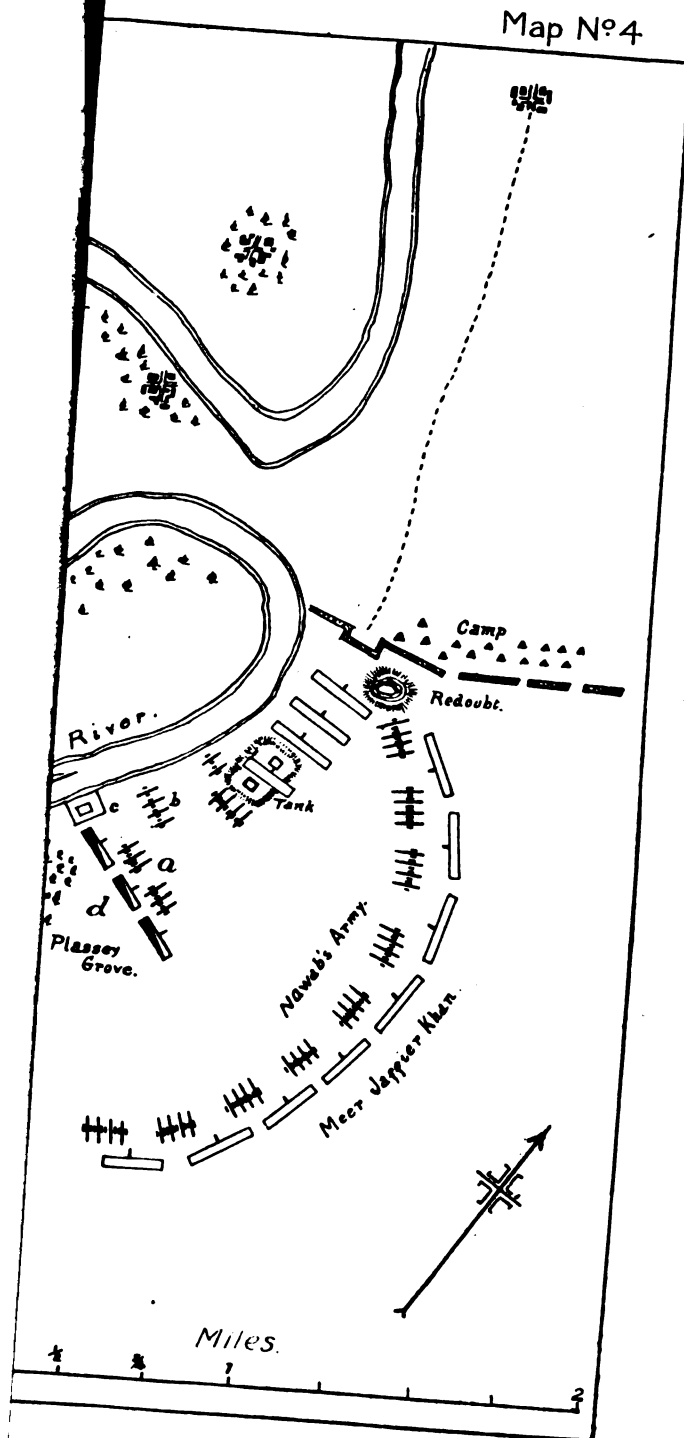
About 2 p.m. the enemy's cannonade completely ceased, and they slowly retired according to orders. Clive, who had had no sleep the previous night, seized the opportunity for a rest, to prepare for the contemplated night attack on the enemy's camp. He handed over command to Major Kilpatrick, with orders to act on the defensive only. Meanwhile, St. Frai and his little party had maintained their post at the tank, and Major Kilpatrick observing that the French were now nearly isolated, could not resist the opportunity of securing the post, which would enable him to harass the retreating enemy. Taking two companies of the Regiment and two field-pieces, he hastened forward towards the tank, at the same time sending a messenger to Clive to tell him what he was doing. The moment Clive received Major Kilpatrick's message he hastened to the spot, and seeing St. Frai had lost his supports, he realized the importance of the movement, and heading the charge himself sent Kilpatrick back to bring up the rest of the force. St. Frai, though terribly outnumbered, fought bravely, disputing every inch of the ground, and limbering up his guns, retired to the redoubt at the angle of the entrenchment.

It now, for the first time, struck Clive that Mir Jafar's division, which was apparently threatening his boats and baggage, must be hovering about to seize the first opportunity of communicating with him. This relieved the British commander from a great anxiety, and he resolved by a supreme effort to drive St. Frai from his second position. Two strong detachments were formed for this purpose, and advanced from either flank, whilst the main body moved forward more slowly to support either party, or to act as occasion should offer. The detachment on the right gained the hillock without firing a shot, and when that on the left closed on the redoubt, St. Frai, finding himself again deserted by his allies, retired without offering any further resistance—leaving the redoubt and field-pieces in the hands of the British.

By five o'clock the enemy were in full flight towards Murshedabad, and Clive was complete master of the field and of their camp.

So ended the Battle of Plassey, which may be said to have decided the fate of India. It cannot be described as a great battle in a military sense ;

Map N°4



PLASSEY, JUNE 23RD, 1757.



there was no manœuvring, very little fighting, the Nawab's generals were contemptible, and their armies a rabble, but as a decisive battle it was perhaps one of the greatest ever gained ; it made the British masters of Bengal, Behar, and Orissa, and eventually the greatest Mohammedan power in the world, and opened up an enormous field for British energy, industry, and commerce, not only in India itself, but throughout the whole of the East. Although Clive's success was mainly due to the treachery of the Nawab's generals, yet credit is none the less due to the soldiers of the British Army who fought in total ignorance of their Commander's schemes. The loss of the British was only 7 Europeans, including 2 artillery officers, and 16 sepoy killed, and 13 European soldiers and 36 sepoy wounded.\* "Plassey" was the first decoration emblazoned on the Colours of the "Bengal European Regiment," and it was inherited by the "Royal Munster Fusiliers."

Clive, anxious to follow up his victory, immediately sent a detachment under Major Coote to pursue the enemy and prevent any attempt to rally, and offered his soldiers a money donation to forego their rights to prize and plunder. This offer was unhesitatingly accepted, and the troops started on the ten-mile march to Daudpore, where they arrived at 8 p.m., and rested for the night.

On June 24th Mir Jafar was conducted to the British camp, where Clive saluted him as Sovereign of Bengal, Behar, and Orissa. After a conference, it was arranged that Mir Jafar should proceed without delay to Murshedabad and prevent the ex-Nawab's escape. That unhappy individual had, however, managed to get as far as Rajmahal, but was recognized there and brought back to Murshedabad, where he was given over to the custody of Mir Jafar's son Miran, "a youth not seventeen, cruel and barbarous." Surajah Dowlah soon met his fate, stabbed to death by the hands of Miran's servants. He was only twenty years of age, and had reigned for barely fifteen months.

On June 25th, the British force reached Maidapore ; the next three days were spent in arranging matters relative to the payment of the promised donations to the Army, Navy, members of the Select Committee, together with that to the Company, and the restitution to the inhabitants of Calcutta.

On the 29th Clive entered the city and took up his quarters at the palace of Murad Bagh, and thence proceeded to the public audience hall of the Nawab's palace, where Mir Jafar was saluted as Sovereign, and proclaimed throughout the city and provinces.

In a General Return of the Troops, dated Sydadab, August 3rd, 1757, the following particulars are given :—

Bengal Companies : Captains Grant, Muir, Cudmore, Le Beaume, and Fraser, with a strength of from thirty-five to forty-six men in each ; the Adjutant and Quartermaster being returned as in Captain Fraser's company.

During the remainder of 1757 the Regiment was for the most part divided up into separate commands. A portion of the Battalion accompanied Major

\* Colonel Malleon gives this as the loss of the British ; but the "Historical Records" of the Madras European Regiment place our loss at a much higher figure.



Eyre Coote in his fruitless pursuit of Monsieur Law and his French followers, who, having taken refuge in Oude, were protected by the Nawab of that country. The detachment, after an arduous and hazardous march through an unknown and hostile country, returned to Murshedabad on September 14th, and was stationed at the factory of Kassimbazar; whilst the rest of the Regiment was ordered down-country to Chandernagore and Calcutta, where it remained for several months in quarters.

In the month of October the force sustained a great loss by the death of Major Kilpatrick, who had been so intimately associated with the Regiment since its formation at Fultah in 1756. He was a brave and intelligent officer, universally respected, and by his mediation on several occasions, had done excellent service in reconciling the jarring elements composing the force.

The great amount of prize-money obtained by the troops had had a most injurious effect on the health of the men; the consequence was a most serious mortality in all ranks, particularly at Calcutta and Chandernagore; and, as a proof of its extent, it may be mentioned that at Major Kilpatrick's death, only five men of the 230 who had come round with him the preceding year remained alive.

Murshedabad now became a scene of complicated intrigue, outbreaks against Mir Jafar Khan's authority occurred at Midnapore, Purneah, and Dacca. Clive, desirous of restoring order, decided to proceed to Murshedabad, but was unable to move on account of the sickness of the troops, already alluded to, till November 17th, when he embarked the whole of the available force at Chandernagore. This force amounted to 400 Europeans, mostly composed of the Regiment, and about 1,300 sepoys.

Colonel Clive, with the European troops, reached Murshedabad on November 25th, and left there on the 30th, having been joined by the detachment of the Regiment stationed at Kassimbazar, comprising 250 European troops all in excellent health. The force, after weeding out the invalids, etc., now consisted of little more than 550 Europeans, including the company of artillery, and the 1st and 2nd Sepoys, about 1,500 men. On December 3rd they reached Rajmahal, and encamped near the Nawab's army. The Nawab on the following day visited Colonel Clive, when the whole force was drawn up to receive him. The troops went through their exercises and a variety of evolutions, with which the Nawab was much gratified and surprised, and he ordered Rs10,000 to be at once distributed amongst the men. The advance of the British troops caused the various outbreaks to collapse, and reduced the province of Bengal to perfect subjection.

The Nawab now turned his attention towards Patna, but Colonel Clive would not move till the claims of the British were settled, and it was not till January 2nd that the army commenced its march, the British detachment forming the advance guard. On February 4th the British troops halted about two miles from the Fort of Patna; on the 23rd a grand durbar was held, and Colonel Clive, without firing a shot, by his personal sagacity, impartiality and

firmness, besides settling the various causes of dispute, obtained great advantages for the Government: for instance, control of the saltpetre factory. Tranquillity was restored, and a very favourable impression of British justice, wisdom, and power created throughout the country.

Colonel Clive now rejoined the main body. Owing to the shallowness of the Kassimbazar river, the troops were compelled to move to Bagwangelah, from whence they marched across to Murshedabad, arriving there on May 15th. Here Clive heard of the arrival of reinforcements for the French, and, leaving the Regiment, with some of the artillery and the newly-raised 3rd Battalion of Sepoys in garrison at Kassimbazar, he returned to Calcutta.

In August, 1758, orders were received at Calcutta for the return of His Majesty's 39th Regiment to England; but as liberty had been granted to the officers and men to enter the Company's service, nearly all the detachment in Bengal volunteered for the Regiment; and Colonel Clive, finding it inadvisable to send back the detachments of the Bombay and Madras European Regiments, at their own request incorporated these also into the Regiment.

This amalgamation was carried into effect on September 1st, and of the officers so transferred, Major Francis Forde, Lieutenants Carnac\* and Yorke,† and Ensigns Gilbert, Donellan,‡ and Broadbrook, of His Majesty's 39th Regiment, received a step of rank in the Company's service.

Soon after Captain John Govin arrived in Calcutta; he had been sent round by the Bombay Presidency to take command of their detachment serving in Bengal. Under these circumstances, Colonel Clive gave him the option of returning or remaining. Govin selected the latter, and, being considerably senior to all the other officers in the Regiment, and possessing a high military reputation, Clive promoted him to the rank of Major, and appointed him to the command of the Regiment.§

In stating that Major Govin was nominated to the command some explanation is necessary, for he was at the same time appointed second-in-command of the Bengal Army.

In 1758 the number of troops employed in the Bengal Presidency was so small that the officer second-in-command of the Army also held the command of the Bengal European Regiment. The native infantry had but two European officers to each battalion; such officers, selected from the roll of the Regiment, were simply struck off duty. As an instance there was the case of Ensign John Matthews, who was commanding the 1st Native Infantry, when he was promoted to a Lieutenancy in the Regiment, *vice* Lieutenant Thomas Robertson, promoted Captain *vice* Moltimore, killed in action at Masulipatam, April, 1759.

\* Afterwards Brigadier-General and Commander-in-Chief.

† Town Major of Fort William.

‡ Was executed at Warwick in 1781 for the supposed murder of his brother-in-law, Sir Theodosius Boughton. His mother-in-law afterwards confessed she had administered the poison herself.

§ Major Govin was re-transferred to the Bombay Presidency in 1761, when he was appointed to the command of the Bombay European Regiment.

Major Govin's promotion to a Majority was considered by the other Captains in the Regiment as a grievance, and they made a strong remonstrance to Colonel Clive; Captains Alexander Grant,\* Thomas Rumbold,† John Cudmore, Andrew Armstrong, Archibald Keir, Grainger Muir,‡ Robert Campbell and Peter Carstairs requested permission to resign the service, which request was complied with. Captains Campbell and Carstairs were subsequently restored to the service, but with loss of rank.

It is now necessary to turn to the events which were taking place in the Northern Circars, a country lying to the south of Bengal, extending 470 miles along the sea-coast in the direction of Madras, and inland to a depth varying from 30 to 100 miles.

This country was in 1758 controlled by the French. Count Lally, the French Governor of Pondicherry, was contemplating war against Tanjore, and ordered Count de Bussy, in command of the Northern Circars, to join him with all his available force, and make over the command of his province to the Marquis de Conflans. Count Lally was unsuccessful, and news quickly reached the province to this effect, and in consequence Anandraz Gajapati, son of the late Subahdar, saw his opportunity for overthrowing the French Government.

Anandraz, having assembled an army of 3,000 men, on September 2nd captured the French settlement of Vizagapatam, hauled down the French flag, and knowing that war existed between the French and British, and hoping to obtain assistance from the latter, hoisted the British flag and sent a messenger to Calcutta to inform the Council of what he had done.

The Council did not look with favour on his proceedings, but Clive saw at once the advantages that might arise from a successful diversion in that direction. Unable to absent himself owing to the unsatisfactory state of affairs in Bengal, he dispatched a force under command of Lieut.-Colonel Forde,§ formerly of His Majesty's 39th Regiment.

The troops with Forde were five companies of the Regiment, under Captain Adnet (lately transferred from the Madras European Regiment), with Captains Christian Fischer, Martin, Yorke and Moltimore, and Captain-Lieutenant Patrick Moran (one of the few prisoners who had escaped from the horrors of the "Black Hole" in 1756), the 2nd Company of European artillery, with 100 lascars and six 6-pounders, the total number of Europeans being 500, and 2,000 sepoys, consisting of the 1st and 2nd Bengal Battalions, under

\* Returned to Bengal as a free merchant, became a contractor for the Army, died in 1765.

† Was refused restoration, in 1760 was appointed to the Civil Service as a factor; afterwards Sir Thomas.

‡ Son of a Major who came out to India in 1747 with an Independent Company, he accompanied his father, then aged fifteen. Appointed a writer in Bengal in 1752; obtained an ensigncy in 1754. Was stationed with twenty men at the factory at Jugdia, and joined Kilpatrick at Fultah in August, 1756. After resigning, he returned to England, and was appointed Lieutenant in the 94th Regiment, commission dated March 7th, 1760; he served in America. The Regiment was disbanded in 1763. Muir raised a company for service in India and arrived in Bengal in 1765, attained the rank of full Colonel, and died on the way to England in 1785.

§ See Appendix "B," p. 212.

Captain Ransfur Lee Knox and Captain-Lieutenant Lachlan MacLean respectively, and the remnant of the Madras Sepoys, who had come round in 1756, forming a third Battalion under a native Commandant.

This force embarked at Calcutta on October 12th, reaching Vizagapatam on the 20th, where it disembarked without delay. Colonel Forde, having left a small garrison of sepoy and sick Europeans, proceeded with the remainder of his force on November 1st to join Anandraz, whose camp he reached on the 3rd, finding there 5,000 followers, mostly undrilled and unarmed, and forty Europeans of different nationalities with four field-pieces, under an adventurer named Bristol.

On December 1st the united forces commenced their march, and on the 3rd came within sight of the enemy under General Conflans, entrenched near the village of Galapul. On the 6th Colonel Forde took possession of an eminence called Chambol. Having waited here for two days for the enemy to attack him, Forde determined to bring the enemy to action by threatening their communications with Rajamundri to their rear. Accordingly, having

concerted his plans with Anandraz, Forde struck his camp  
**Battle of** and commenced his march towards Condore about 4 a.m. on  
**Condore.** the 9th. Anandraz, however, thinking 9 a.m. would do for the  
 march as well as 4 a.m., was suddenly attacked by a battery

of six field-pieces sent forward by Conflans, and his troops at once fled after the British, and, joining them in a confused mass, the whole force reached Condore about 8 a.m.

Here Colonel Forde took up his position, and on the enemy appearing 1,000 yards in his rear, moving towards his left flank, he issued orders to prepare for immediate action. The Regiment was placed in the centre, with three field-pieces on each flank; to the right was the 1st Battalion of Sepoys, commanded by Captain Knox, with half the Madras Sepoys; to the left the 2nd Battalion of Sepoys, commanded by Captain-Lieutenant MacLean, with the remainder of the Madras Sepoys; and extended on either flank were such of Anandraz's troops as had firearms, and the remainder of the rabble in the rear. Captain Bristol and his party and four field-pieces took post with the three guns to the left of the Regiment.

The British now advanced to meet the enemy, who opened a hot fire of grape. Forde halted, his centre being covered by a field of corn which completely concealed the Europeans from view; the sepoy on either flank were in full sight of the enemy. Now, the native regiments which accompanied the British force had, by Clive's orders, been clothed in red, and were not carrying their colours.\* The French, seeing the red coats, were naturally under the impression that the European soldiers had been placed on the flanks. Under this delusion, Conflans advanced his French Europeans to

\* "Colonel Forde had ordered his sepoy to furl their colours, which, besides the principal flag, are several small banners to a company, and let them lay on the ground during the action." (Orme, Vol. III, p. 379.)

engage the 2nd Battalion of Sepoys, and commenced firing by platoons. Colonel Forde, who perceived the error, rode up to the battalion to encourage them, but to no purpose, for, finding themselves outflanked and opposed to Europeans, they retired in the direction of Chambol.

The French, thinking they had put the British Europeans to flight, advanced rapidly, leaving their artillery half a mile behind. Forde then grasped his opportunity, and forming the Regiment in line to the left upon the left company, commanded by Captain Adnet, he advanced and took the French in flank just as they were clearing the field of corn; nearly half the French grenadier company of the "Battalion of India" went down at the first volley, being taken completely by surprise. Orme states:—"The fire of the English line commenced before the enemy was ready; it was given in divisions, that is, the whole Battalion divided into five, and began from Captain Adnet's on the left, which was within pistol-shot, and brought down half the enemy's grenadiers; the fire ran on, and before the time came for Captain Adnet's division to repeat theirs, the whole of the enemy's line was in confusion." Thus, roughly handled, the French hurried back to regain the cover of their guns, followed by the Regiment, which advanced in echelon of companies left in front, the 4th Company, under Captain Yorke, acting as reserve. The French rallied at their guns, and opened fire on the advancing British troops, Captain Adnet being mortally wounded, and several men falling, but the advance was continued, the guns captured, and the enemy again put to flight.

In the meanwhile, the 1st Sepoy Battalion had been fighting gallantly supported by the field-pieces, which had been left with them on the advance of the Regiment. On the retirement of the French native infantry, Captain Knox advanced with his battalion, and joined the Regiment. The 2nd Sepoy Battalion having rejoined the force, Colonel Forde determined to make a dash at the enemy's camp. Waiting for his guns, he deployed his infantry, ordering the Regiment to advance and fire; the enemy then turned and fled in the utmost confusion, leaving their camp and the remainder of the guns in the hands of the British. No victory could have been more complete. The French losses were 6 officers and 80 men killed or mortally wounded, and 6 officers and 70 men prisoners or wounded, all these belonging to the French European "Battalion of India," 32 brass cannon, 7 mortars, 3,000 draught bullocks, and all the camp equipage. The regimental losses were—killed, Captain Adnet and 15 men; wounded, Captain Donellan, Lieutenant Moran, Mr. Macguire (the Paymaster), and Mr. Johnstone (the Commissary), who were serving as Volunteers with the grenadier company, and 20 men; and, in addition, about 100 men of the Bengal native infantry killed or wounded.

Captain-Lieutenant Oswald was promoted Captain *vice* Captain Adnet (killed), and Ensign John Nollikins was promoted Lieutenant.

The Battle of Condore is justly ranked by Colonel Malleeson amongst "the Decisive Battles of India," for it was a battle between the English and

French for supremacy in India, but it is a battle little known or mentioned in the Service.

The 1st Battalion of Sepoys was dispatched in the afternoon of December 9th in pursuit of the enemy, followed next morning by the rest of the sepoys, the Regiment and Bristol's artillery. The advanced force occupied Rajamundri on the 10th, the French having vacated it. Colonel Forde and the remainder of the force arrived on the 11th. Being most anxious to reach Masulipatam, whither General Conflans had hastened, before the enemy should have recovered from the effects of their recent defeat, Forde crossed the Godavery on the 23rd, but was compelled to re-cross the stream on the 26th, owing to Anandraz's failure to keep his promise as regards the funds which he had promised to supply on the capture of Rajamundri.

**Occupation of  
Rajamundri.**

Colonel Forde, therefore, left a small force to protect Rajamundri, and marched to Peddapore, and it was not until January 28th that Anandraz was induced to return and advance upon Masulipatam. Captain Bristol and his European artillery and a portion of Anandraz's troops were left at the Fort of Rajamundri, where a depot was formed for stores, sick, and wounded.

Ellore, a town midway between Rajamundri and Masulipatam, was reached on February 6th. Whilst there, Forde detached a force to seize the French factory and town of Narsapore. Several guns and a large quantity of stores were captured, the French garrison having fled.

On March 1st Colonel Forde commenced his march on Masulipatam, crossing the lake, or rather marsh, of Kolar on the 3rd, and on the 6th arrived before the fortress, where, with his main force, he occupied the sandhill on the eastern face of the Fort, erecting three batteries there, which were not completed till March 25th.

**Capture of  
Masulipatam.**

The beleaguering force was now in great peril, for a French force, under du Rocher, had compelled Captain Bristol to retire from Rajamundri, and was threatening the territories of Anandraz, who in consequence left the British camp with his followers. Conflans, also, feeling quite safe in his fortified position at Masulipatam, had asked for assistance from Salabut Jung, the Subahdar of the Deccan. The Subahdar marched at once with 35,000 men, and on March 27th was reported to be within three days' march of Masulipatam. Forde's cup of difficulties was not yet full, for the troops, on account of not having received their prize-money, broke out into open mutiny. Forde, having explained fully how matters stood to certain representatives of the troops, the men returned to duty, and the siege was prosecuted with increased vigour.

Colonel Forde now sent Mr. Johnson, a political officer, to Anandraz, pointing out to him that he could not possibly escape from the clutches of both Salabut Jung and du Rocher, and the folly of separating himself from his alliance with the British, Anandraz promptly returned and occupied the town of Masulipatam, from which the enemy had withdrawn all his troops.

Forde's next move was to try the effect of negotiation with Salabut Jung with the sole object of delaying his march, so that he would have time to deliver his assault on the Fort before Salabut Jung could arrive. This plan worked most successfully. Meanwhile, the batteries poured a continuous fire on the Fort. Forde had determined to make his main assault on the Camelion Bastion (A), and at the same time to make a demonstration under Captain Knox against St. Michael's Bastion (J), whilst Anandraz's forces were to attack the detached Ravelin (F).

The main attack was formed into three divisions under Captain Callender,\* and consisted of 312 men of the Regiment, 30 artillerymen, 30 sailors, and 700 sepoys. Of the three divisions, No. 1, under Captain Fischer, was composed of the grenadier company of the Regiment, and the grenadier companies of the Sepoy Battalions with some artillery; No. 2 under Captain Yorke, of the other four companies of the Regiment, and 50 sailors; No. 3, under Captain-Lieutenant MacLean, being formed from the remainder of the Sepoy Battalions.

All the parties were under arms at 10 p.m. on April 7th, Captain Knox starting earlier than the storming party to enable him to cross the swamp and arrive at his station in time to attack at the arranged time, namely, when the big gong of the Fort struck twelve o'clock.

As the gong struck, Captain Knox was heard to open fire, and Anandraz's troops were likewise heard making a fearful noise, and firing wildly. The centre division was not quite up to time, as they had had a terrible struggle through the mud and water. Captain Fischer's, the centre division, first reached the breach at A, and charged up the incline; Captain Yorke's on his right, and Captain MacLean's on his left, both replying to the fire which was being poured on the centre party from the Bastions N and B.

Fischer's party had now gained a footing in the breach, Yorke's following close behind, and together they found themselves on the ramparts, and turning sharply to the left, charged and captured N Bastion, being quickly followed by MacLean's sepoys. Fischer then charged along the ramparts, capturing B and C Bastions, and then pushed on towards the Ravelin F; he happened to look over the ramparts, and saw a large body of French Europeans in the ravelin. Promptly running along the rampart, he dropped down close to the gate E and at once shut it, thus completely isolating the French troops. Captain Fischer, on returning to the bastion at C, was met by Captain Callender, who had been appointed to lead the assault, but who up to now had not put in an appearance. He, however, assumed command, but was almost immediately killed, and Captain Fischer resumed command.

We will now turn to Captain Yorke's No. 2 Division, which, having secured the St. John's or N Bastion, proceeded to capture the Dutch or

\* Captain Callender, of the Madras Army, had been sent to the Northern Circars by the Madras Council with orders to assume military command if the Bengal troops succeeded in driving the French from the province. It appears that Madras was afraid that the Circars would be annexed "by the gentlemen of Fort William."

M Bastion, at the point of the bayonet. Captain Moran, accompanying the Division, secured a light field-piece near the bastion, and turned it with terrible effect on the enemy. Yorke, just as he was starting to attack the L or Francois Battery, observed a body of French troops advancing along a road below the ramparts, and with great presence of mind, descended with a few men, seized the French officer, told him the fortress had fallen, and peremptorily ordered the party to surrender, which they did ; they were disarmed and sent under escort to the Camelion or A Bastion. Yorke now pushed on to the L Bastion, but as he approached some of the men passing near an " expense " magazine, raised a cry that there was a mine under their feet and rushed back in confusion towards the A Bastion in spite of the efforts of their officers. Captain Yorke, however, with the help of some of the men who had served with him in His Majesty's 39th Regiment, rallied about forty men, and leading them, with a drummer on each side playing the grenadier march, again advanced towards the L Bastion.

Those delays had given time to the officer in command of the Bastion, who brought down a gun loaded with grape, and at its first discharge several of the advance party fell, 16 being wounded. Captain Yorke was severely wounded, being shot through both thighs ; the two drummers were killed at his side, but others of the Division coming up, brought off the wounded and retired towards the A Bastion.

Colonel Forde had in the meanwhile proceeded with a reinforcement to the N Bastion, and shortly afterwards he received an officer sent by the Marquis de Conflans, who appears to have completely lost his head, offering to capitulate on honourable terms. Forde replied that he would make no terms, and the surrender must be absolute ; this was agreed to, and thus Masulipatam passed under English rule on the morning of April 8th.

As a result of this action, five districts, held to be amongst the most valuable possessions of France in the East Indies, with an annual revenue of £400,000, were wrenched from her, and passed under the control of the East India Company.

The British Army took prisoner 91 European officers and French civil servants of the French Company, 409 European soldiers, and 2,537 French sepoys.

The French return showed that 113 European soldiers were killed and that the British captured 120 pieces of heavy ordnance.

Of the Regiment Captain Moltimore and one Lieutenant—name unknown—were killed ; Captain Yorke was severely wounded, and Captain Callender of the Madras Service—doing duty with the Regiment—was killed. The total loss of the British was 22 Europeans killed and 62 wounded, and 50 sepoys killed and 150 wounded.

Lieutenant Thomas Roberston was promoted to a company *vice* Captain Moltimore, and Ensigns John Matthews and Francis Cozens to the two vacant Lieutenancies. It does not appear that any of these three officers were with



the force, but they obtained their promotions as the seniors in the army. Ensign Matthews was at the time doing good service in Behar. Captain-Lieutenant MacLean and Ensign Anthony Castell were also promoted for their conduct on this occasion ; their commissions bearing date one day subsequent to those who were promoted by the casualties.

Colonel Broome, in his " Rise and Progress of the Bengal Army," p. 241, says :—" When the whole attendant circumstances are considered—the numerical superiority of the enemy, the strength of the place, and the disadvantages under which the English were labouring, as also the great importance of the conquest—few achievements on Indian record can be compared with this brilliant affair."

Colonel Forde\*—whose appointment to the command of the Company's troops in Bengal had not been approved of at home—embarked for Calcutta in October, accompanied by Captain Knox, leaving the command of the force to Captain Fischer. The strength of the detachment was now reduced to about 300 Europeans and 800 sepoys, and their instructions were to return to Bengal by marching along the coast and to endeavour to destroy the French force.

The detachment started in the beginning of November, and on reaching Rajamundri, Captain Fischer learnt that the French detachment was at Cocanada. On approaching the place on December 27th, he sent forward Captain Yorke with the European grenadiers and the 1st Battalion Sepoys, whereupon the French retired into the Dutch Fort. On Captain Fischer's arrival, he demanded the surrender of the French party. On the 28th this demand was complied with, under a formal protest, and the whole party were made prisoners. Captain Fischer, with his detachment, now marched to Vizagapatam, which he reached on January 16th. A few days afterwards the Europeans, both infantry and artillery, embarked, and sailed for Bengal, where they arrived at the end of the month. The sepoys, under Captain MacLean, continued their route by land, arriving in Bengal in March, 1760.

It is now necessary to return to the state of affairs in Bengal, from the date of the departure of Colonel Forde's expedition in October, 1758.

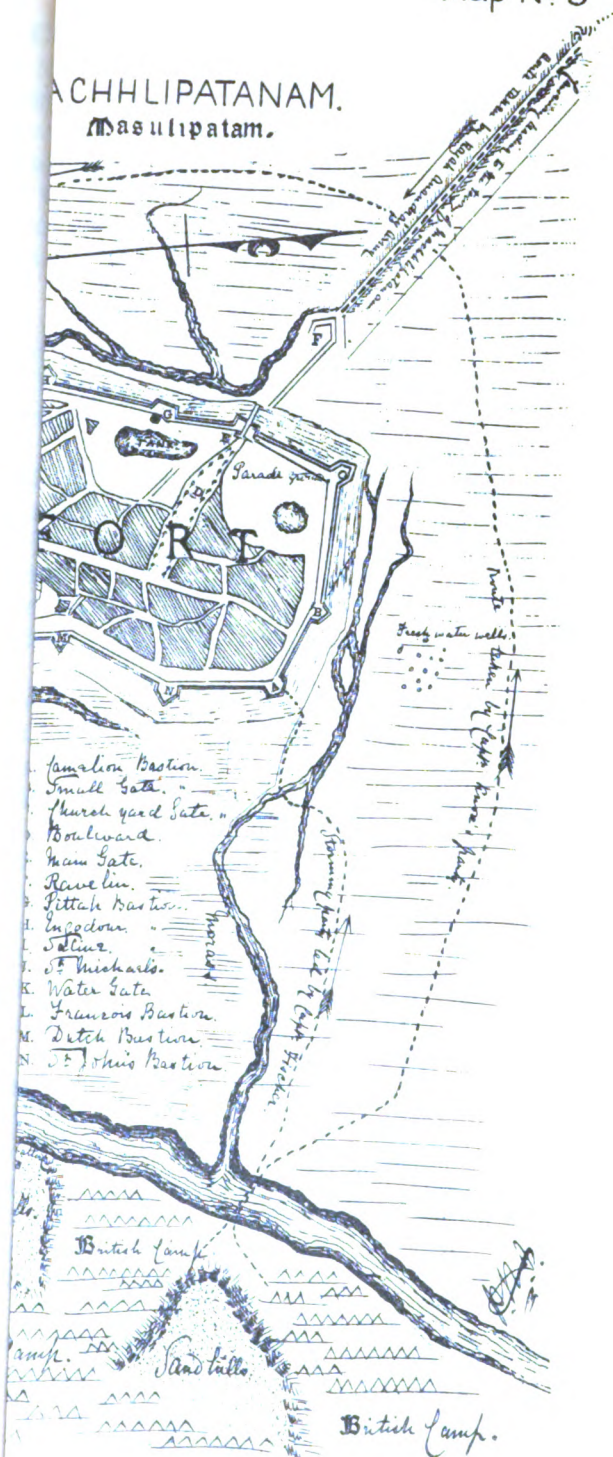
A return dated February 6th, 1759, shows the effective strength of the European Force in Bengal :—

Doing Duty.				Officers.	N.C.Os.	Privates.
Infantry	...	...	...	21	65	334
Artillery	...	...	...	9	5	86

In February, Clive received an earnest appeal from the Nawab Mir Jafar for assistance on account of a threatened attack by the Shahzada—Shah Alam—who had rebelled against his father Alam Ghir Sain, who occupied the

\* On October 14th, 1764, Lord Clive addressed the Chairman of the Court of Directors in the following words :—" Pray do not forget Forde, who is a brave, meritorious, and honest officer. He was offered a Jaghire by the Subah of the Deccan, but declined taking it upon terms contrary to the interest of the Company."

ACHHLIPATANAM.  
Masulipatam.





throne of Delhi as Emperor of Hindustan. Clive, taking with him the five companies of the Regiment (left at Calcutta when the right wing went to the campaign in the Northern Circars), 100 European artillery, and 2,500 sepoys, marched from Calcutta on February 25th, and arriving at Murshedabad on March 8th, was joined by the Nawab's army. Leaving there with the combined forces on the 13th, he advanced to the relief of Patna then besieged by the Shahzada, sending forward by forced marches an advance party under Ensign John Matthews of the Regiment, a young officer of great intelligence and ability.

On April 9th the united forces arrived before Patna to  
**Relief of Patna.** find that the Shahzada had raised the siege on hearing of the near approach of Clive's force.

Clive, having repaired the defences of Patna and cleared the surrounding country, left a detachment there under Captain Cochrane, composed of one company of the Regiment, a detachment of artillery with two field-pieces, and five companies of sepoys, and retraced his steps, reaching Calcutta with his main force early in June.

Trouble now threatened from the Dutch, who though effete in Bengal, were powerful in other parts. Their agent at Chinsurah applied to the Dutch Governor of Batavia for help, stating that if a powerful force could be landed, it would be able easily to wrest the paramount power from the British. Clive had suspected that the Nawab was negotiating with the Dutch, and the arrival of a Dutch vessel in the Hoogli in August with European and Malay soldiers on board confirmed his suspicions.

In October all doubt as to the hostile intentions of the Dutch was put an end to by the arrival of seven Dutch war vessels filled with troops at the mouth of the Hoogli. It was evident that the Nawab was in league with the invaders, in spite of his protestations, and Clive correctly surmised that the Dutch would attempt to force a passage up the Hoogli, land their troops and march towards Chinsurah. The force on board consisted of 700 European infantry and 800 Malays, all well-trained and fully equipped soldiers; at Chinsurah there were 150 European infantry and artillery and a number of sepoys. The available British force at or near Calcutta amounted to 250 Europeans, being part of the left wing of the Regiment, one company being at Patna, and about 80 artillery, and 1,200 sepoys.

Clive's difficulty was to prevent a junction of the two Dutch forces, and England and Holland not being at war in Europe, he was not in a position to act offensively until the invaders made some hostile demonstration. This they did very shortly by attacking seven small trading vessels under British colours, burning factories at Fultah, etc. At this junction the arrival of Colonel Forde and Captain Knox from Masulipatam was most opportune, and Clive at once appointed Forde to command all the Company's forces in the Presidency, Knox being given command of the Fort of Tannah and "Charnock's Battery." Forde on November 20th seized the Dutch factory

at Barnagore, then crossed the Hoogli and marched towards Chandernagore to prevent the junction of the two bodies of Dutch troops.

On November 24th Forde attacked the Dutch, who had advanced from Chinsurah to Chandernagore, and quickly routed them, capturing the four guns which were of such importance to their main army. The same evening Captain Knox arrived with 220 men of the Regiment, bringing Forde's force up to 320 European infantry, 80 European artillery, with four field-pieces, 800 sepoys, and a small troop of Volunteer Cavalry.

**Capture of  
Chandernagore.**

Forde now learnt that the Dutch main army, under a French officer, Colonel Roussel, was expected to reach Chinsurah early next morning, but he hesitated to attack the troops of a friendly state without definite instructions, so he wrote to Clive that he could attack the Dutch successfully if he had an order in Council. Clive was playing whist when the letter arrived, and, without rising from the table, wrote on the back of Forde's letter : " Dear Forde,—Fight them immediately. I will send you the order of Council to-morrow." In consequence Forde determined to attack the Dutch on the Plain of Biderra, and early on November 25th occupied a position carefully selected the previous day. It commanded the direct road to Chinsurah, the right flank was protected by the village of Biderra, the left rested on a grove of mango-trees in which the artillery was concealed ; in front was a deep, broad, irregular ravine.

**Battle of  
Biderra.**

At 10 o'clock the enemy appeared in sight and boldly advanced to the attack ; their force consisted of 700 Europeans and 800 Malays, but they had no cavalry or guns. They attacked under a smart musketry fire, but their progress was checked by the ravine, and a halt was ordered, causing confusion, of which Forde took advantage by pouring in a murderous shower of grape. The Dutch stood their ground manfully for a time, but were mowed down in sections, the action being short, bloody and decisive. In half an hour the enemy were defeated and put to flight, leaving 120 Europeans and 200 Malays dead on the field, 150 Europeans and as many Malays wounded, whilst Colonel Roussel and 14 other officers, 350 Europeans and 200 Malays were made prisoners. The rout was so complete that only 14 of the enemy finally escaped and reached Chinsurah.

The Battle of Biderra was one of those battles in which the number of men engaged was extraordinarily small compared to the results attained. It is seldom referred to by historians, but was one of the most brilliant in Indian history. The power of the East India Company was trembling in the balance on that November 25th, 1759, but Clive, by his cool courage and daring, effectively and permanently checked the Dutch power and confirmed our supremacy in Bengal.

Colonel Forde occupied Chinsurah immediately after the battle, and Clive, seeing he had nothing to gain by the extinction of the Dutch, arranged a peace for them with the Nawab, and restored to them their factory at Chinsurah.

We must now, though unwillingly, part from Colonel Forde, who, though he had never held a commission in the Regiment, contributed so effectively to its honours and distinction. He arrived in Bengal in 1758 with the rank of Lieutenant-Colonel, but the Court of Directors, for some unexplained reason, refused to confirm his selection by Clive to command the forces. On his return from the expedition against the French in the Northern Circars, Forde found that he had been dismissed the service under orders from England. In spite of this, he consented at Clive's earnest request to undertake the command of the operations against the Dutch; these he also brought to a successful end. The Court again declined to confirm his appointment, and Forde returned to England a disappointed and ill-used man. In the Regiment Colonel Forde's name was a household word, and his memory was ever held in love, honour and respect. The appointment of Colonel Forde not having been sanctioned, Major Caillaud, of the Madras Service, was nominated to the command of the Bengal Army.

Colonel Clive had now fully determined upon returning to Europe—his health for some time past had been seriously impaired—but before leaving he made arrangements to oppose the advance of the Shahzada Shah Alam, who had again appeared on the scene.

The force consisted of 300 of the Regiment, 50 European artillery with six field-pieces, and three Sepoy Battalions, all under command of Major Caillaud. The advance division left Calcutta on December 26th under Captain Thomas Fenwick, with whom was Captain James Spicer, both having been transferred from the Madras Army to the Regiment. Clive reached Murshedabad on January 6th and informed the Nawab, Mir Jafar, that he was departing from India. This intelligence was received with much misgiving, and at the Nawab's request it was arranged that 200 men of the Regiment should be permanently quartered at Murshedabad for the protection of the native capital. Clive returned to Calcutta, whence he sailed for England on February 25th.



*The Honourable East India Company's Arms.*

## CHAPTER II

### BATTLES OF SEERPORE—SUAN—KUTWAH—GERIAH.

A CHANGE had taken place at Delhi since the campaign in the previous year ; the Shahzada Shah Alam had, on the death of his father the Emperor Alam Ghir Sain, been proclaimed Emperor of Hindustan, and in consequence of this increased influence he had been able to collect a considerable army, and to threaten the city of Patna and the British factories near it. Captain Cochrane of the Regiment commanded the Company's troops at Patna, consisting of 100 Europeans, under Ensign Winklebeck, with whom was another subaltern, name unknown, 70 European artillery with two guns, five companies of regular sepoy, and three Local Companies\* under an Ensign ; Dr. W. Fullerton was the surgeon to the detachment, and there was also a Mr. Bardwell serving as a volunteer.

Raja Ram Narian, Governor of Patna, had received strict orders from the Nawab and Major Caillaud not to risk a battle with the Emperor's troops, but to await the arrival of the Nawab's troops, and the British under Major Caillaud. Unfortunately, however, he moved out from his entrenchments on February 9th, and was at once attacked by the enemy on the Plains of Musseempore. The British detachment was in reserve, and Captain Cochrane was determined that the Company's troops should take no part in the action, unless it should be necessary to protect the Raja from injury or capture.

The tide of battle swung first one way, then another, and eventually the Raja found himself in considerable personal danger and sent a message asking for help to Captain Cochrane. The latter had orders that he was to protect the Raja against personal injury, and in consequence at once proceeded to obey the call, with his two subalterns, Volunteer Bardwell, and four companies of sepoy. This unwise division of the British force caused its destruction. The party with much difficulty forced their way up to the Raja, but in repelling the repeated attacks of the enemy, Captain Cochrane and his two subalterns were killed, and the sepoy, finding their officers had fallen, broke and fled. A serjeant of the Regiment, seeing the perilous position of the Raja, placed himself at the head of 25 sepoy and, charging gallantly forward, reached the Raja, whom he escorted to the European detachment, which had been fiercely attacked by cavalry on both flanks, but it had held its ground, though with the loss of the officer left in command.

\* These Local Companies were frequently employed at the factories. They were composed of mercenaries of all nationalities ; their officers were sometimes attached for duty with the Regular troops.

The only European officer now surviving was Dr. Fullerton, who assumed command, and by his coolness and steadiness enabled the little party to withdraw in safety to Patna.

One of the gun carriages having broken down, they were compelled to spike the piece and leave it on the field ; but the tumbril of the other having upset, Dr. Fullerton halted the party, deliberately righted it, and then resumed his march.

Luckily the Emperor did not follow up his victory quickly ; the town was, however, invested, but the siege was not pushed with much vigour, and on February 19th intelligence was received that Major Caillaud with the British force was close at hand. On the 20th the Imperial Army moved out to meet them, getting in touch in the evening.

Caillaud was anxious to offer battle at once, but Miran, commanding the Nawab's troops, as usual urged delay, and it was not till February 22nd that the battle commenced. Caillaud seized two villages about a mile in advance of his position, in each of which he placed a company of sepoy, and in the rear he posted a further 400 men as a support.

**Battle of  
Seerpore.**

The enemy now advanced, and the support was ordered to join their comrades, a company of Europeans with two field-pieces being added to their force. After a pause the enemy continued his advance, and the British force took up a position in front of its own camp between the villages, the Regiment being, as usual, in the centre, supported by three guns on either flank, these again being flanked by two battalions of sepoy forming the right and left wings of the line. The force had been reinforced on the previous day by the junction of the remnant of the party that had escaped from the action of Musseempore on the 9th.

Miran had been instructed to place his forces in rear of, and as a support to, the British force, his cavalry extending right and left ; but instead of this he had massed his whole force of 15,000 men on a front of only 200 yards, to the right and slightly in rear.

One division of the Emperor's army now attacked the left of the British position and attempted to occupy the village of Seerpore, but the fire of our artillery soon stopped them ; the other two divisions attacked Miran's troops, who began to show signs of wavering, whereupon Major Caillaud moved up some infantry and six field-pieces to the village on the right and caught the Imperial horse on the flank. In spite of this, they charged again and again and compelled Miran to give ground. At this critical juncture Caillaud took the right battalion of sepoy with two remaining field-pieces, the other four gun-carriages having broken down in the rough, heavy ground, and led them to the Miran's assistance and attacked the enemy so vigorously that they gave way, and a bayonet charge completed the work. The Emperor's army broke and a general stampede ensued ; their officers attempted in vain to rally their men : in half an hour the field was clear of the enemy. Their

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camp was taken, and the British found in it, to their surprise, their own camp equipment and cattle, which had been looted by the enemy's cavalry, who had, early in the action, passed to the rear of the village of Seerpore. The pursuit lasted till nightfall, and the Emperor retired to Behar sixteen miles distant. The British casualties were few.

It was not till February 29th that Miran consented to follow up the enemy, and it was March 2nd before the British force reached Behar, when it was found that the Emperor's army had left that town on February 29th, and was rapidly marching towards Bengal; thus the advantage gained at Seerpore was hopelessly sacrificed by the wilful obstinacy of Miran.

The army started in pursuit, and four days later Caillaud came almost in touch with the enemy; but a second time they escaped, as once more Miran proved obstinate. The Emperor struck across the hills in a south-westerly direction, still pursued by the British.

Soon after Major Caillaud and Miran had left Murshedabad to relieve Patna—January 22nd—the Nawab Mir Jafar had moved towards Rajmahal, taking with him Captain Spier and the 250 men of the Regiment stationed at Murshedabad, as it was reported that the Nawab of Purneah and other zamindars were in revolt. Terms were, however, arranged with the malcontents, and the Nawab then turned his attention to his Eastern frontier, now threatened by a large body of Mahratta cavalry under the notorious chief Sheobut.

On March 23rd Captain Fischer with 250 of the Regiment, four light guns, and 300 sepoy was sent to reinforce Spier; and Captain Yorke—now recovered from his wounds—was ordered to hold himself in readiness to take the field with 250 more of the Regiment and 500 sepoy, this latter detachment being at Murshedabad.

On April 4th a junction was effected between Major Caillaud's, Captain Spier's, and Miran's forces at Mungulkote. Captain Fischer, with 200 men of the Regiment, was at once ordered to march to Murshedabad to protect the capital, and Caillaud determined to attack the Emperor's forces then at

Maunkur with or without the help of the Nawab, who was **Action at Belkoss.** found to be negotiating with the enemy. He left Mungulkote

on the 5th, and on the morning of the 7th marched with his troops to the village of Belkoss, opposite to the Emperor's encampment. The attack was led by the Regiment, who charged across the stream, under cover of the artillery, when it was seen that the enemy, after firing a few shots, had set fire to their camp, and had retired, doubling round and turning towards Patna.

On this movement becoming known to Major Caillaud, he dispatched to Patna a force of 200 picked men from the Regiment, the 1st Sepoy Battalion under MacLean, and a detachment of artillery with two 6-pounders, the whole under command of Captain Knox; the force started on April 16th.

Patna was in great peril as Law, with his French European troops, was threatening it as well as the Emperor's forces.

Dr. Fullerton, the only British officer in the garrison, was doing his best to organize the defence ; and just as help was most needed,

**Relief of Patna.** the glitter of the sun on the bayonets was seen, and the inspiring sound of fifes and drums was heard, announcing the approach of Knox's relieving force. This force, led by Knox himself on foot, had marched 300 miles in thirteen days, under a burning sun, crossing the Ganges twice. Boats were sent across the river and the besieged heartily welcomed the relieving troops, who marched through the city with their Colours flying and drums beating.

Next day, April 26th, Knox attacked the enemy's advanced position, and, surprising them at their midday meal, drove them in confusion from their camp, which he captured, with all their guns, stores, and ammunition. The following day the Emperor's and French troops retired to the village of Gyah Manpore.

Meanwhile, the Nawab of Purneah, directly Mir Jafar Khan was out of reach, determined to link himself with the Emperor's forces. Major Caillaud, who had started in pursuit, finding that he would be unable to overtake the Nawab, sent orders to Captain Knox at Patna to prevent, if possible, a junction between the two forces.

Knox, having collected his force, which consisted of 200 of the Regiment, a battalion of MacLean's sepoys, five field-pieces, and a detachment of native cavalry, crossed the Ganges on June 15th, and on the next day advanced to meet the Nawab, taking up a well-chosen position near the village of Beerpore, leaving one company of sepoys to guard his camp and boats. The enemy appeared in much greater force than Knox had expected, quite surrounding the British force of 800 men. He formed his troops into a hollow square, driving back the repeated charges of the enemy's cavalry at the point of the bayonet. On one occasion the little party was nearly overwhelmed, but a brilliant charge by the grenadier company of the Regiment, headed by Knox in person, saved them. At length, tired of these fruitless attempts, the Purneah troops were compelled to retreat, leaving behind them 400 dead, 3 elephants, and 8 field-pieces. The loss of the British being remarkably small, Lieutenant John McDowall and 16 men of the Regiment being killed, as well as many sepoys ; of the number of wounded no record is available.

**Battle of  
Beerpore.**

Knox returned that night to Patna, after pursuing the enemy till darkness set in, and next day renewed the pursuit. However, on the arrival of Major Caillaud and Miran on June 22nd, his detachment was withdrawn and Major Caillaud took up the pursuit. On June 25th he came in touch with the enemy, who fled after a short encounter, leaving behind a number of heavy guns and a great quantity of camp equipage.

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On July 2nd the monsoon commenced and during the night the tent in which Miran was sleeping was struck by lightning, and his blackened corpse was found amongst the debris. Thus perished the Shahzada Miran, at the age of 21, respected by none, and despised most by those who knew him best.

This event increased Major Caillaud's difficulties, as native armies in India on the death of their commander are accustomed to disperse to their homes. However, by much tact, the Major succeeded in quelling a mutiny, and retraced his steps to Patna, reaching there on July 29th, and the monsoon being at its height, operations were suspended.

At Calcutta the new Governor, Mr. Vansittart, was anxious to avail himself of Major Caillaud's advice and experience, and in consequence the Major handed over his command to Captain Knox, the next senior officer, and, quitting Patna on August 31st, arrived at Calcutta on September 10th, where a commission as Lieutenant-Colonel was awaiting him, this promotion having been awarded for his distinguished services in the field.

On the death of the Shahzada Miran, the Nawab of Bengal, Mir Jafar, had recognized his son-in-law, Mir Kassim, as heir to the throne; the latter played his cards with such shrewdness and ability that on October 20th he was appointed Nawab of Bengal in place of Mir Jafar, who resigned and was conveyed under strong escort to Calcutta.

Mir Kassim, the new Nawab, at once instituted sweeping reforms, and was very shortly after able to satisfy to a great extent the British claims, including £70,000 for the arrears due to the British troops at Patna. With the latter amount Colonel Caillaud started for Patna on November 4th, accompanied by Major Carnac. This officer had embarked with Colonel Clive for England, but on arrival at St. Helena had received intelligence of his appointment to the command of the troops in Bengal, with the rank of Major, in place of Colonel Caillaud, who was directed to assume command of the Madras army, in succession to Colonel Lawrence.

Before leaving Bengal Colonel Caillaud\* made some changes in the organization of the Regiment, now 1,200 strong, including two grenadier companies. With the approval of the Council, two troops of Dragoons and one of Hussars were raised, the troopers being taken from the Regiment, being officered from the infantry as well, but it did not prove a success, on account of the smallness of the underbred Bengal horses.

Colonel Caillaud left Patna on December 31st for Calcutta, from whence he proceeded to take up his new appointment.

Soon after Major Carnac assumed command a small expedition was dispatched to Bhirboom under Captain Martin White, consisting of detachments of the Regiment and of artillery and some sepoys; there he was joined

\* Colonel, afterwards Brigadier-General, Caillaud retired from the East India Company's Service on March 17th, 1775, and went to reside at his place in Oxfordshire, where he died at a very advanced age in 1810.

by Captain Yorke with 200 men of the Regiment and a body of the Nawab's troops. On ascertaining the enemy's position, Yorke instructed White to take a circuitous route and attack the enemy in rear. The manœuvre was so well executed that the enemy, finding themselves simultaneously attacked in front and in rear, broke and fled, leaving their camp, guns and stores in our possession. This victory quieted the whole province of Bhirboom as well as that of Burdwan.

Major Carnac was determined to open a vigorous campaign against the Emperor Shah Alam, who was established at Behar, and had with him Monsieur Law's French Corps. The united forces of the Nawab's army and the British under Carnac arrived at Suan, six miles from Behar, on January 15th. The artillery at once opened fire, when the enemy retired and encamped on the open plain. The British formed up for the attack, the Regiment being in the centre, flanked on either side by a battalion of native infantry, the artillery between the Europeans and the Sepoys, with a third Battalion of native infantry and a small body of cavalry in rear as a reserve.

The guns were pushed forward and a general advance made, but the enemy's cavalry attacking on both flanks, some confusion arose, making the result of the battle doubtful, when most opportunely a well-directed shot from one of the guns killed the mahout and wounded the elephant on which the Emperor was riding; the animal, freed from restraint, rushed wildly to the rear, and the news that the Emperor had left the field created a panic amongst his troops. The British and native infantry charging forward with the bayonet, the enemy broke and fled.

Monsieur Law with his French soldiers endeavoured to check the flight of the Emperor's troops, and took up a strong position to cover their retreat, their artillery firing grape on the advancing British. The Regiment, however, managed to get below their fire, on account of the guns being on an elevated position, and, charging up the hill, captured the guns.

The Regiment now advanced with shouldered arms towards the French officers, 13 or 14 of whom stood by their commander and the colours, with some fifty French soldiers in their rear. Major Carnac ordered his men to halt, and, saluting, offered to spare their lives. Monsieur Law agreed, stipulating that they might retain their swords; the terms were accepted, and Monsieur Law and his officers were placed on their parole.

The British being too fatigued to follow up the fleeing enemy, the Emperor was able to collect his troops and retire towards Patna, which he knew to be poorly protected; but Major Carnac, cutting him off, forced him to turn south, and on February 2nd overtook him. On Carnac forming up for the attack, the whole of the enemy's force turned and fled. The Emperor, finding his cause to be hopeless, proposed a meeting with Carnac, which took place at the town of Gyah.

A detachment of 200 of the Regiment, six companies of sepoys, some artillery with two field pieces, and one troop of cavalry remained at Gyah, under Captain Alexander Champion,\* to watch events in Behar.

Shortly afterwards Champion's detachment took the field against a chief named Ranghur Khan, who had commenced to plunder and devastate the southern portion of the province and to lay siege to Kooseerah. Champion, by forced marches, fell unexpectedly upon him, defeated and drove him to seek safety in the hills, and then returned to Gyah.

Major Carnac with the main army, accompanied by the Emperor, returned to Patna, which he entered on February 14th; but the Emperor, finding the British were not to be persuaded to support his cause further than they had already done, marched from Patna in June, and was escorted to the boundaries of the province by Major Carnac with a large portion of the force.

In April Lieut.-Colonel Eyre Coote arrived in Bengal as Commander-in-Chief. Major Carnac still retained the subordinate command of the Company's troops. Coote arrived at Patna at the end of April, but owing to continuous political dissensions in which both he and Carnac took prominent parts, instructions were received from the Governor and Council for them both to proceed to Calcutta. Colonel Coote started early in July, making over command of the troops to Major Carnac, with directions to follow him as soon as possible with the main body of the force, leaving a detachment of four complete companies of the Regiment, two battalions of sepoys, and a company of artillery at Patna, the whole under command of Captain Carstairs, the senior officer present. The detachment under Captain Champion at Gyah, and that under Captain Hart, were called in. The four companies were those of Captains Peter Carstairs, Charles E. Joscher, Ambrose Perry, and Henry Somers, and consisted of 1 Captain, 1 Lieutenant, 2 Ensigns, 4 serjeants, 3 drums and fifes, and 48 rank and file each, the staff consisting of an Adjutant, Quartermaster and Surgeon.

In the beginning of August, Major Carnac commenced his march to Calcutta, and on arrival the Regiment was stationed in and about the Fort.

Before the end of 1762 the Nawab, Mir Kassim, had re-organized, on the British system, an army of 25,000 men, having perceived, although himself no soldier, the utter inefficiency of his own troops. He thoroughly remodelled his army by the help of some able adventurers, and, knowing full well the evils that had befallen his father-in-law, the Nawab Mir Jafar, as a result of his cringing attitude towards the Calcutta Council, determined that he would not fall into a like error. He removed his court from Murshedabad to Monghyr to avoid being too closely watched by the Council, and improved the fortifications of his new capital.

Owing to the action of Mr. Ellis, in charge of the factory at Patna, there were constant disputes between himself and the Nawab, firstly over the saltpetre trade, then over supposed English deserters, then over breaches of

\* See Appendix "C," p. 213.

the ordinary transit duties, and such was the state of affairs in June, 1763, that all parties were awaiting the crisis which appeared inevitable.

Early on the morning of June 25th, Mr. Ellis ordered the Company's troops, consisting of four companies of the Regiment and 2,500 sepoy, to take formal possession of the city of Patna ; they marched from the fortified factory on the banks of the Ganges, under command of Captain Peter Carstairs of the Regiment, and occupied the city. The native Governor at once rode off towards Monghyr to report to the Nawab, and on arriving at Futwah met the advanced guard of the Nawab's relieving troops under Markar, an Armenian, who had helped to reorganize the Nawab's army. This force arrived at the eastern gate of Patna, where they found two European field-pieces, and overpowered the artillerymen who, spiking their guns, hastily retreated ; the enemy then quickly poured into the city, the English troops being scattered in all directions, eager for loot, were driven within the factory walls, and being surrounded and there being no hope of relief, the garrison escaped on the evening of June 29th by crossing the Ganges in boats, and marched hastily towards Chupra.

In this they were frustrated, as Markar, with his brigade, pressed on their rear, and a fresh brigade under Sumru, another adventurer, an Alsatian, who had also helped to reorganize the Nawab's army, was barring their progress in front.

On July 1st the British managed to reach the village of Manji, where  
**Action at** Captain Carstairs\* placed four companies of the Regiment on  
**Manji.** some rising ground with his sepoy battalions on the flanks  
 and rear. The enemy commenced the attack, and in spite of  
 some gallant charges made by the British and sepoy, who were led by Carstairs, and seven or eight of his European officers, all of whom were shot down, they were overcome and forced to surrender, seeing that further resistance was useless. The British who had survived were made prisoners and carried to Patna, where they were afterwards cruelly massacred. Many years afterwards a quantity of the Company's muskets, issued in 1761, were discovered buried near the place where the Battle of Manji was fought. It is probable that the European soldiers buried their arms before they were made prisoners. Judging from official returns, it appears that nearly three hundred Europeans and 2,500 natives must have been killed or surrendered on this occasion ; 7 artillery officers and 29 infantry officers were killed, died of wounds, or were made prisoners and afterwards massacred.

Early in July there were rumours in the native bazaars that a disaster had befallen the British at Patna, and on July 7th a letter arrived from the Nawab Mir Kassim full of reproaches at the treatment he had received. News also came that Kassimbazar was invested by the Nawab's troops. It

\* Captain Carstairs was probably severely wounded at the Battle of Manji, as he died on the road before the prisoners reached Patna. (" Military Calendar," Vol. II, p. 74.)

was now evident that we were on the eve of a great war, and preparations for the offensive were quickly taken.

At this time the Regiment consisted of two grenadier and ten battalion companies, each having fifty-five non-commissioned officers and men, but only a few were available for active service. Four companies, as already mentioned, were at Patna under Captain Carstairs ; three were at Jessalore under Captain Champion ; two at Amboa under Captain Knox ; leaving only three companies at or near Calcutta.

In addition to the twelve companies, there was attached to the Regiment a company of French Rangers, under Lieutenant Claude Martin\*, they had taken service with the British after the Battle of Pondicherry, and had been sent from Bombay for service in Bengal.

Every exertion was now made to enable the army to march, but it was not till July 5th that Major Adams†—lately appointed to the chief command of the Bengal Army—crossed the River Hoogli, his force consisting of about 850 Europeans, 1,500 sepoy, and 10 field guns. There were left for the protection of Calcutta a weak company of the Regiment, chiefly composed of sick and convalescents, the sick of His Majesty's 84th Regiment, a detachment of sepoy, the Militia, and a company of volunteers.

A treaty had been concluded between the Council and Mir Jafar whereby he was to be proclaimed for the second time Nawab of Bengal, and Mir Kassim was to be deposed, and proclaimed a rebel. On July 17th Mir Jafar joined Major Adams' army with his followers.

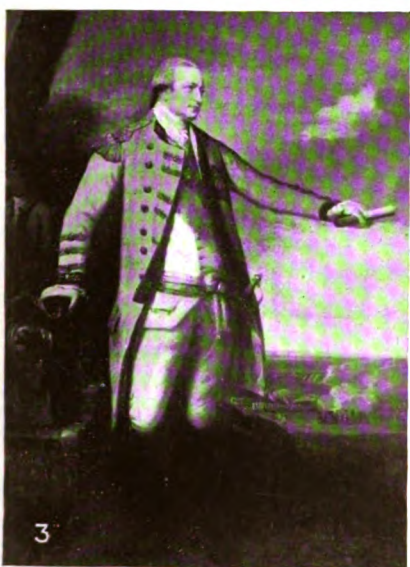
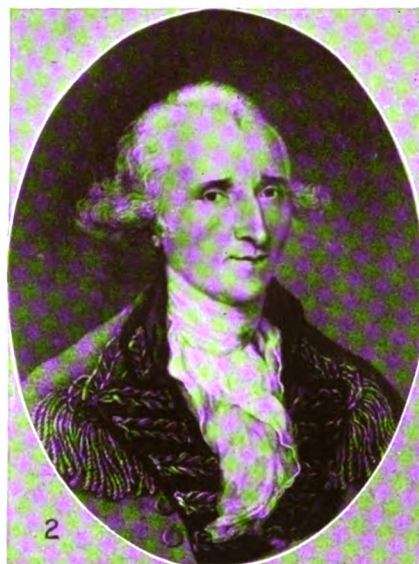
The first action was fought by Lieutenant William Glenn, commanding some serjeants of the Regiment, a detachment of artillery with six guns, and the 2nd Burdwan Battalion. He had under escort £20,000 **Action on the River Adjil.** in specie as well as cattle and grain for the army. This force had reached the River Adjil on July 17th, when they were attacked by an army of 17,000 cavalry and infantry, but fortunately without artillery. Glenn chose some rising ground, intersected by ravines, for his position, and coolly awaited the enemy, who made a determined advance. The artillery was served so admirably that charge after charge was successfully repelled. Three times the guns and treasure were captured by the enemy, and retaken by desperate charges of the sepoy, gallantly led by the serjeants of the Regiment, most of whom were killed. After four hours' fighting, the enemy drew off. Glenn with his little band then marched on the Fort of Kutwah, which he captured the same evening, finding a vast store of grain and cattle ; he crossed the River Bhagirathi next day and joined Major Adams. Two of the guns were presented by the East India Company to the 2nd Burdwan Battalion, afterwards the 8th Regiment N.I.

On July 19th Major Adams moved forward against the force under

\* See Appendix "D," p. 214.

† See Appendix "U," p. 227.





- 1.—WARREN HASTINGS, served in the Regiment at the Battle of Baj-Baj, 1756.
- 2.—General CLAUD MARTIN, Lieutenant in the Regiment, 1763.
- 3.—Major-General SIR HECTOR MUNRO, the Victor of Buxar, 1764 (then Major Munro).
- 4.—HYDER ALI, the Regiment's doughty opponent in the Carnatic.





Mohamed Taki Khan, one of the ablest of the ex-Nawab's generals, who was barring the way to Plassey and Murshedabad, nearly opposite to Kutwah. Time after time the enemy's cavalry charged and attempted to drive back the British advance guard, but when a general attack was made by Mohamed, the artillery opened fire for the first time and created great havoc in the enemy's ranks. The British infantry advanced steadily, under cover of the guns, receiving repeated charges by the enemy cavalry with the bayonet. Victory was in the balance, leaning first to one side, then to the other, both sides putting forth every effort. Mohamed tried to turn the right flank, but the skill and foresight of Major Adams had prepared for this movement; that flank was covered by a nullah, and in it Adams had placed a company of sepoys. As Mohamed, with his followers, dashed into the stream, this little party rose and poured into them an unexpected and deadly volley. Mohamed Taki Khan fell at once, as did his leading troopers, the rest turned and fled; this decided the fate of the day and left the British masters of the field.

In this action Lieutenant Smith, of the Regiment, was killed.

The army halted and bivouacked near the Nawab's hunting box on the field of Plassey, and in compliment to that victory six years before the sentries round the British camp were told that "Clive" was the parole and "Plassey" the countersign. The army remained there three days, and on the 23rd Adams attacked the enemy in their Motijhil entrenchments, but they made little show of resistance, and retired to their main defences at Suti, about thirty-seven miles north of Murshedabad. On the 26th Adams advanced along the high road towards Suti, his force was joined that day by Captain Knox with his two companies of the Regiment from Amboa. Captain Robert Campbell, of the Regiment, was placed in command at Kassimbazar, where the wounded Europeans and some sepoys were left for the protection of the Company's factory. Captain Knox was appointed Quartermaster-General, and Captain Champion, who had joined the headquarters of the Regiment from Jellalore, was appointed Brigade Major, whilst Lieutenant Glenn was rewarded for his distinguished gallantry on July 17th, by being placed on Major Adams' personal staff as A.D.C. The force appears to have been badly off for medical staff, but it had the services of a chaplain for the first time on record in the Bengal army.

The British army now consisted of His Majesty's 84th Regiment and the Regiment—with Claude Martin's French company—just over 1,000 European infantry, 150 European cavalry, 120 artillerymen, and 4,000 sepoys.

The enemy's force consisted of about 20,000 infantry, 12,000 cavalry, a large body of European artillery, and an effective "Rocket Corps."

On August 1st Adams crossed the Bansli, deploying on the plains of Geriah, the Rivers Bansli and Bhagirathi forming an angle in his rear.

On the morning of the 2nd the enemy was seen, to Adams' surprise, advancing, as they had left a very strong position, presumably depending for success on their vastly superior numbers. He at once prepared for action, placing the European infantry in the centre, the Regiment on the right, and His Majesty's 84th Regiment on the left ; on each flank he placed two field-pieces, beyond these he placed his sepoys, three battalions on the right and three on the left, flanked again by artillery ; in rear was the reserve under Major Carnac, consisting of one sepoy battalion, two field-pieces, and the cavalry.

Adams advanced his line, and a heavy bombardment was commenced ; the enemy's formation was similar to the British, Sumru's and Markar's trained brigades being in the centre, flanked by artillery, with native infantry, in masses, on their right and left, the numerous cavalry divisions being spread about waiting an opportunity to attack.

On the two lines approaching the accurate fire of the European infantry caused the centre brigades of the enemy's line to give ground. To relieve this, Mir Kassim's general sent a large body of cavalry to charge the British left formed by Captain Stibbert's N.I., who, though fighting nobly to hold their ground, were gradually pressed back, hurled into the stream, and nearly annihilated.

Directly Adams saw that Stibbert's Battalion had given ground, he brought up his reserves, but the British line was now fairly broken on its left, and the enemy's cavalry, pouring through the gap to the rear, boldly charged and captured the two guns on the left of the 84th, their " Rocket Corps," at the same time, concentrating their fire on that regiment.

The situation of the British was now exceedingly critical, but the reserves worked their two guns with such effect that the large bodies of the enemy threatening the line in front were forced to retire, and the Regiment relieved, was enabled to come to the support of the 84th by engaging the " Rocket Corps." The 84th, relieved from the pressure on their front, at once gallantly faced about, and, charging the enemy in their rear, recaptured the two guns temporarily lost.

One of the enemy's generals was at this moment wounded, and his troops discouraged in consequence, whilst another advancing to his support, on seeing this, wavered, halted, and finally began to retreat.

This was the crisis of the day, and Major Adams with admirable judgment seized the opportunity, closed the whole line to the centre, and advanced with fixed bayonets in a general charge ; the enemy, unable to stand before this irresistible line of cold steel, gave ground. The retreat, or rather flight, now became general, and the British, after a well-contested and at one time very doubtful action, found themselves masters of the field, having gained one of the most brilliant victories on Indian military record.

Adams pressed on in hot pursuit, driving the enemy through and beyond their fortified position at Suti ; their camp, containing seventeen pieces of cannon, a vast amount of stores and ammunition, and on the river 150 boats laden with munitions of war, was

**Capture of  
Suti.**

captured.

The enemy's loss was very great, and that of the British was also considerable ; amongst the killed in this hard-fought action were Lieutenants William Glenn and Walter Furlong, both of the Regiment. Captain Knox, who had specially distinguished himself, was promoted Major, Lieutenant Francis Cozens being promoted to his company.

There is probably no action in which the Bengal Army was ever engaged more deserving of commemoration than the Battle of Geriah, whether considered with reference to the desperate nature of the conflict, the stake at issue, or the importance of its results.



The Gorget was suspended from the two top buttons of the coat by ribbon, and rosettes of silk ribbon, the colour of the regimental facings. It was worn when on duty.

## CHAPTER III

### BATTLES OF UNDWAH NALA—PATNA—BUXAR.

*Reference Maps Nos. 6, 7. Pages 46, 60.*

HAVING re-formed his army, Adams advanced on Sunday, August 4th. He found the enemy had retired to Undwah Nala, a very heavily fortified position on a low range of hills. The British Army marched to Aurungabad, a little beyond Suti, where divine service was performed in camp, and thanksgiving returned for the late victory, after which a Royal Salute was fired in honour of the occasion.

**Battle of  
Undwah Nala.**

Mir Kassim's engineers, taking advantage of a deep gorge, formed a position which, naturally strong, was now aided by powerful and scientifically planned fortifications, mounting upwards of 100 cannon. Its capture was deemed impracticable, and immense sums had been spent on the defences, extending from the Ganges on the left to the Rajmahal Mountains on the right, and orders had been given to defend it at all costs.

In addition to the batteries and fortifications, a deep morass, bordered by an artificial wet ditch sixty feet wide and twelve deep, extended along the front ; behind this ditch was a wall eighteen feet high and seven feet thick.

On August 11th the British Army arrived within four miles of the enemy's position. Adams did not despond, but after pitching his camp, landed all the heavy guns from the boats, and erected batteries opposite to the position which was selected for the attack. The progress of these operations was very slow, owing to the limited means at his command, and in addition, the force was constantly harassed by parties of the enemy. At length, on September 4th three batteries (E) had been erected, the nearest of which was within 300 yards of the massive fortifications, on which the guns had made but little impression. A small breach (B) was effected, however, close to the gateway near the river, and success, if not hopeless, appeared very distant.

Adams had retired that night to his tent intending to form some decided plan of action, when one of those unforeseen events occurred which so repeatedly, on early Indian history, marked the turning point in British undertakings—a European soldier in Mir Kassim's Army, originally a deserter from the Company's service, appeared and offered, on condition of pardon, to point out a path through the morass. As the deserter's pardon depended on his truthfulness and the feasibility of the scheme, his conditions were accepted.

That very night Adams worked out his plan of attack, and determined to attempt its execution at once, it was to gain possession of the conical hill (A) on the right of the enemy's position, and at the same time to effect an entry at the breach (B). He calculated that the enemy, finding themselves attacked on both flanks, would probably be dismayed, and in their disorder he was confident that he could gain such advantage as would place the enemy at his mercy.

Should the commander of the storming party succeed in gaining the hill (A), a lighted torch was to be raised high in the air, on seeing which, a vigorous attack was to be made on the breach (B), which, even though unsuccessful, would draw the attention of the enemy from the storming party whilst it effected its entry. Should the breach be successfully carried, a junction was to be effected between the two parties in rear of the enemy's foremost batteries.

Captain James Irving, of the Regiment, was appointed to command the storming party crossing the morass, under him were the grenadiers of His Majesty's 84th and the Regiment and two battalions of sepoys. The rest of the attacking force was under Captain Moran, the reserve was under Major Carnac.

The assaulting parties left the camp three hours before daybreak, Moran at the same time occupying the trenches near the Water Gate.

Captain Irving's party crossed the morass with great difficulty, the men having to carry their arms and pouches on their heads to save them from getting wet, scaling ladders were also carried by camp followers. The strictest silence was enforced, and after much labour the party reached the rising ground at the foot of the hill. The advanced party found the enemy's outpost guard at D sound asleep and soon overpowered and silenced them; the scaling ladders were quickly placed against the outer ramparts, but before the party reached the summit the alarm was given—but too late—the grenadiers, rushing forward amidst the general confusion, gained the ramparts; and, almost unopposed, drove the terrified enemy before them, quickly capturing the top of the hill (A).

Captain Moran's division was, as arranged, concealed in the trenches waiting anxiously for the signal from Irving, and to his great satisfaction he saw the burning torch exultingly waved above the stockade on the hill.

The artillery from the advance battery opened a sudden and heavy fire upon the breach, under cover of which Moran made a vigorous attack. Great difficulty was experienced in crossing the ditch, and the breach was found to be very steep and only wide enough to admit one person, but Moran's party pushed boldly on and charging the defenders forced them along the ramparts in the direction of Irving's party, now, as previously arranged, pushing their way along the ramparts to the right to meet Captain Moran's storming party. The defenders, finding themselves between the two parties, fled in the direction of the inner works, hotly pursued by the victors.

It was barely daylight, and a scene of fearful carnage was disclosed ; the enemy, confused by the suddenness of the attack coming from several quarters, were thrown into inextricable confusion, added to which their own guard stationed at the bridge " C " had orders to fire upon any one attempting to cross, and a ghastly heap of dead and wounded soon rendered escape by the bridge impossible, and the flying masses were precipitated over the parapets into the rapid stream below.

As soon as victory was assured, the British ceased fire, and all unnecessary slaughter was forbidden.

When the difficulties of the undertaking, the enormous disproportion of the forces, and the completeness of the results, are considered, this must be acknowledged to have been a most extraordinary and brilliant achievement. It was a most decisive battle in every meaning of the word. Adams, with an army of about 1,000 Europeans and 4,000 sepoys, had stormed a position of the greatest strength, had defeated 40,000 men, destroyed 15,000, had captured more than a hundred guns, and had taken vast numbers of prisoners, supplies of ammunition, stores, horses and cattle. He had not merely defeated Mir Kassim's army ; he had destroyed it. The British losses were trifling.

On September 6th the army marched to Rajmahal, reaching there on the 7th, and on the 8th resuming its march to Monghyr, which was reached on October 1st. A heavy cannonade was opened by the British batteries, a breach effected, and an assault ordered, but the Governor of the Fort surrendered next day unconditionally.

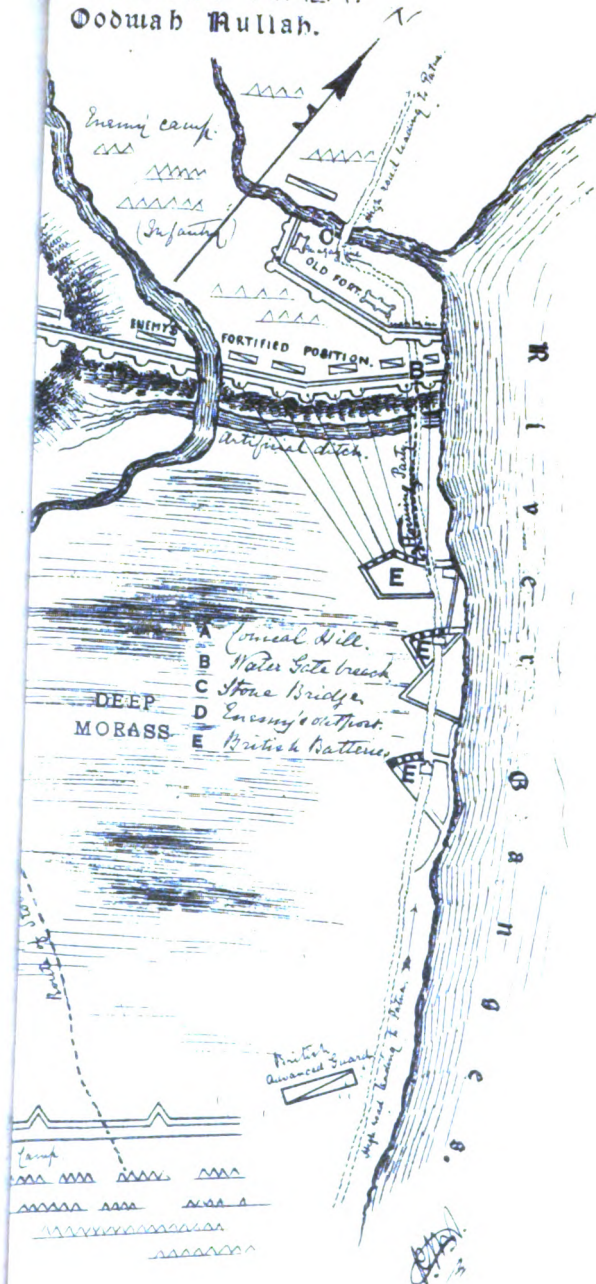
**Capture of  
Monghyr.**

Mir Kassim had left Monghyr as soon as he found the British were advancing on his capital, and retired to Patna.

The British prisoners—mostly soldiers of the Regiment captured at the defeat at Manji on July 1st—had been confined at Patna, and Mir Kassim, in revenge, now issued the fatal order for their massacre. He had great difficulty in finding any of his officers who would carry out his orders, until at last Sumru, the Alsatian, volunteered to do the cruel work. On October 5th he proceeded with his men to the house of one Hadji Ahmed. As soon as all was ready he summoned Messrs. Ellis, Hay and others into his presence, when they were ruthlessly attacked, their bodies hacked to pieces and thrown into a well ; the rest of the prisoners, collected in a large square of the house, were then shot down, hacked to pieces, and their bodies also thrown into the well. The few remaining prisoners, probably sick European soldiers, were murdered on October 11th. Altogether 50 civil and military officers and 100 European soldiers, most of them soldiers of the Regiment, perished on this occasion. A native contemporary tells us that the prisoners " without losing courage marched up to the murderers, and with empty bottles, stones and brickbats, fought them to the last man until they were all killed."\*

\* " A monument has been erected at Patna near the house where the sanguinary deed was committed. It is surrounded by an enclosure which forms the English burying-ground. The column is in good style, but has neither an inscription nor any device explanatory of the purpose for which it was erected." (" Military Calendar," Vol. II, p. 81.)

Godunah Nullah.







Dr. Fullerton and four serjeants were the only Europeans to escape ; Fullerton had been professionally useful to Mir Kassim, and was allowed to go to the Dutch factory, from which he escaped. The four serjeants—Davis, Douglas, Speedy, and another, name unknown—had been sent to Purneah, and the local Nawab had been ordered to forward them by boat to Patna. He, however, delayed as long as possible and warned them on their departure of their probable fate. During the voyage they succeeded in mastering the crew, and carried the boat safely past Patna down to Undwah Nala, where they reported themselves to Major Adams, who ordered them to rejoin the Regiment.

A sketch of the careers of these serjeants, which has been fortunately preserved,\* will be found of interest.

Serjeant Davis, a native of Edinburgh, enlisted in the Company's service in 1761, and served in Captain Somer's Company of the Regiment. He was soon selected for promotion to serjeant. He was present with the force under Carstairs at Manji, returned to Patna after the defeat at that place, and for some reason unknown was sent a prisoner by Mir Kassim to Purneah. On his rejoining the Regiment after his escape, he was posted to one of the grenadier companies, with which he served during the whole war. On the Bengal Army being remodelled by Lord Clive in 1765, the Regiment was attached to the 1st Brigade at Monghyr under Colonel Sir Robert Fletcher, where in 1766 the insubordination and resignation of the officers took place. Sir R. Fletcher sent for Serjeant Davis and offered him a commission, but he refused it, declaring " that as the officers could not live upon their pay, which was the cause of their quitting the service, it was impossible that he could do so." He was, however, afterwards appointed a Quartermaster, and subsequently obtained an Ensign's commission, and died a Captain in 1788.

Serjeant Douglas having rejoined the Regiment whilst it was encamped with the army under Major Adams near Patna, was present at the memorable storm and capture of that fortified position, together with the subsequent operations of the army, and in 1766 was appointed serjeant-major and employed on revenue duty at Merad-bagh. In 1773 he was sent with Captain T. Edwards' Battalion to clear the district round Rungpore of the " Sanassies," a clan of marauding robbers, when the detachment with which he was serving was overpowered, and Douglas, who rendered valuable service in attempting to reform the broken sepoy force, was killed.

The narrative of Serjeant Speedy's career is specially valuable, as he is the only man whose name has been recorded as having joined the ranks of the Bengal European Regiment when it was formed at Fultah by Clive in December, 1756.

Speedy was an Irishman, and, in common with so many of his countrymen, has reflected honour and credit on the Regiment. During the commencement of the Spanish or Ten Years' War, Speedy enlisted in the 32nd

\* Williams, " Bengal Native Infantry," p. 133.

Foot, and was present at the Battles of Dettingen, Fontenoy, and Lafeldt, losing in the last engagement two fingers of his left hand. In 1748 he received his discharge from His Majesty's Service, and, fond of adventure, immediately enlisted under the East India Company.\* He was sent to Madras, and took part in several battles against the French. On July 20th, 1756, Speedy's Company composed part of the detachment sent to Bengal under Major Kilpatrick to the succour of the fugitives from Calcutta after the capture of Fort William by the Nawab Surajah Dowlah. Speedy was one of the few soldiers who survived the terrible malaria fever, which carried off nearly three-fourths of the men of the detachment, and he was, on Clive's arrival at Fultah, transferred to the grenadier company of the Bengal European Regiment, which was then in course of formation. Serjeant Speedy served with the Regiment at the Battle of Baj-Baj, recapture of Calcutta, Battle of Chitpore, capture of Chandernagore, capture of Kutwah, Battle of Plassey, Battle of Condore, capture of Masulipatam, and Battle of Biderra. In 1760 Speedy was appointed serjeant-major of a sepoy battalion, with which he appears to have been present at the disastrous Battle of Manji, when he was made prisoner, conveyed to Patna, and then sent by Mir Kassim to Purneah. His escape in the native boat in which he was being conveyed to his contemplated execution at Patna, and how he joined Major Adams' advancing army, has been already detailed. Serjeant Speedy was now re-posted to the Regiment, with which he served until the year 1767, when he died, after having led as eventful a life as perhaps any recorded in history.

The following is a nominal roll of the officers of the Regiment, either killed at the Battle of Manji or murdered by the infamous Sumru at Patna.

Captain Peter Carstairs.	Ensign John Greentree.
Captain Charles E. Joecher.	Ensign Robert Roberts.
Captain Ambrose Perry.	Ensign Duncan MacLeod.
Captain Henry Somers.	Ensign William Crawford.
Lieutenant John Downie.	Ensign William Hincles.
Lieutenant Richard Holland.	Ensign Isaac Humphries.
Lieutenant Maurice Roach.	Ensign John R. Roach.
Lieutenant George Alston.	Ensign John Perry.
Lieutenant Sir William Hope.	Ensign Walter Mackay.

Dr. Anderson in medical charge.

Two of these lieutenants and two ensigns were attached to sepoy regiments.

Whilst the Patna massacres were being perpetrated, Adams continued his advance against that city, leaving Monghyr on October 15th and encamping on the east side of Patna on the 28th. Major

**Siege of  
Patna.**

Knox, of the Regiment, Q.M.G., recommended that the attack should be made on the north-eastern angle of the citadel near the river; a

\* Captain Williams, the author of "The Historical Account of the Bengal Native Infantry," who died in 1805, knew Serjeant Speedy, and obtained from him the above particulars.

battery was thrown up, connected with the suburbs by a trench, and a second battery, mounted with the heaviest guns, was erected opposite the centre of the east face. On October 31st the enemy made a determined sally, and surprised the working parties of sepoys, but were eventually driven back again, and the parties were strengthened by two grenadier companies of the Regiment and His Majesty's 84th Regiment combined.

On November 5th two practicable breaches had been made, one near the eastern gate and one towards the south-east. On November 6th Major Adams delivered his attack in two columns; the first, under Captain Champion, was to assail the breach at the angle near the river and eastern gate; the second, under Major Irving, was to attack through the breach towards the south-east.

Capture of  
Patna.

Captain Champion's column consisted of the remnant of His Majesty's 84th Regiment, a new company of grenadiers that had been formed in the Regiment from drafts from the 84th under Captain Moran, with five companies of sepoys attached; whilst Major Irving's consisted of the two old grenadier companies of the Regiment and some sepoy grenadier companies; the reserve was placed under Major Carnac.

On the morning of the 6th the storming parties marched off an hour before daybreak. Captain Champion's attack was conducted with luck as well as skill. Forging the ditch unperceived, he commenced the ascent without a shot being fired. The enemy's battery immediately opened fire when the alarm was given, but fortunately the guns were laid so high that the shot flew over the heads of the party, who after a short and sharp hand-to-hand fight reached the top of the breach.

Major Irving's party was not so fortunate. He found he was unable to cross the ditch, so changed his tactics and, following the route of the first column, succeeded in passing through the same breach. Thus the two parties obtained a footing within the citadel.

Irving, with the grenadiers of the Regiment, then captured the tower on the south side of the citadel, Champion at the same time clearing the ramparts; both parties then moved towards the eastern gate with the intention of throwing it open to enable the main column of the army to enter, but the gate was found to be defended by an entrenched masonry wall of great strength, and beyond this a courtyard which could only be approached by passing through a small wicket scarcely wide enough for two men to go abreast. Here the enemy made a determined stand and caused the British considerable loss. Major Irving fell mortally wounded, his thigh shattered by a rocket, and Captain Champion was also severely wounded. Lieutenant Nicoll, adjutant of the Native Battalion the next senior officer, now assumed command of the parties, ably assisted by Lieutenant Crown of the Regiment, who charged time after time and eventually forced the passage; the storming party entered, and the eastern gate was thrown open for the remainder of the troops to enter.

E

The enemy now took up their position at the bastion at the south-eastern angle called the "Burra Mulah," but this was captured after a severe struggle, the enemy flying to the southern gateway; the capture of the city was then complete.

Meanwhile Major Adams, with the remainder of the force, had entered by the eastern gate, and, collecting all his troops together, issued very stringent orders against plundering. Upwards of three hundred of the enemy were found dead within the Fort; the British loss was considerable. Major Irving died on the 10th, regretted by all ranks, to whom he had endeared himself by his gallant conduct. Captain Champion succeeded to the vacant majority, his commission dating from the day of the assault.

Mir Kassim, hearing of the capture of his last stronghold, now placed himself under the protection of Surajah Dowlah, Nawab of Oude, towards whose territories he proceeded. A British detachment was sent in pursuit as far as the Bengal boundary, but, failing to overtake the fugitives, it returned to Patna.

Major Adams, whose health had been much injured by the fatigues, exposure, and anxieties of the campaign, now considered himself at liberty to return to England, and accordingly on December 9th he resigned command of the army to Major Knox, and proceeded to Calcutta; but his health gave way suddenly, and he died at the Presidency on January 16th, universally regretted and specially beloved by all ranks of the Regiment, which he had commanded with so much courage, ability and success. Amongst the numerous able and distinguished men who have upheld the honour of the British arms in India, there is not one whose career of success is more remarkable than that of Major Adams; in spite of innumerable difficulties, he had, in little more than four months, made himself master of the entire provinces of Bengal and Behar, expelled Mir Kassim from the country, dispersed his troops, won two well-contested pitched battles in the open plain against enormous odds, carried four strongly fortified positions, captured between four and five hundred pieces of cannon, and supplied and equipped his army from the enemy's stores.

In March Major Knox found himself, in consequence of wounds and ill-health, compelled to hand over command of the army temporarily to Captain Jennings, of the artillery, next senior officer present, until the arrival of Major Carnac, who was ordered from Burdwan to command the troops in the field.

Great changes had taken place in the composition of the Bengal European Regiment since its formation in 1756. It had taken a leading part in eighteen important battles and sieges, in some of which the casualties had been great. In addition, four complete companies and 17 officers had been massacred in 1763 at or near Patna.

These casualties had during the past seven years been partly made up by reinforcements from His Majesty's 39th Regiment and the Bombay and

Madras European Regiments. In October, 1763, orders had been sent to Bengal for His Majesty's 84th Regiment to return to England, and it was ordered that its soldiers should be paid off and discharged. At the same time the Bengal Government were informed that both the officers and men of this Regiment could, if they so desired, take service under the East India Company in preference to returning home. With few exceptions, the remnant of the 84th Regiment, including the following officers,\* volunteered for the Regiment :—

Lieutenant Thomas Goddard.	Ensign A. F. Achmuty.
Lieutenant Charles Fielding.	Ensign Thomas Roper.
Lieutenant John Nelson.	Ensign Christian Kundson.
Lieutenant Douglas Hill.	Ensign James Skinner.
Lieutenant John Gummings.	Ensign Jacob Carnac.
Ensign J. G. Robinson.	

On account of the increase of the Native Army, several commissions were granted to serjeants in the Regiment and artillery ; amongst these being Serjeant Davis, one of the four who escaped with the boat in which they were being conveyed from Purneah to Patna in the October of the previous year.

It would have been far more conducive to the discipline of the Regiment had the Council in Calcutta been content to fill vacancies from the above sources only, but it will be remembered that after the capture of Chandernagore many of the French prisoners took service in the Regiment ; and, again, after the Battle of Biderra, a large number of Dutch and other foreign prisoners obtained their freedom on condition of taking military service under the Company ; in addition, after the surrender of the French Fortress of Pondicherry in January, 1761, many of the men in the Regiment of Lorraine, Lally's Irish Regiment, and the French Battalion of India (Europeans) offered to serve the British and were sent to Bengal and drafted to the Regiment ; and, finally, Captain Martin's French Company was attached to the Regiment, as well as two other French Companies sent from Madras for service in Bengal. These latter companies were known to be of doubtful reputation, having shown signs of insubordination whilst on service with the Madras troops at Manilla. These numerous enlistments resulted in two-thirds of the Regiment being composed of foreign mercenaries, many of whom had taken service simply to obtain their release from prison. Such men, not bound to the British by ties of nationality, were prepared to seize any opportunity to transfer their allegiance, if they thought that by so doing they could improve their condition.

The British troops, as well as the sepoy, had been dazzled by descriptions of the higher rank and larger pay which they could obtain by going over to the native rulers, but what had caused a deep feeling of discontent amongst them all was the fact that they had not received the sum of money promised

\* The officers of H.M. 84th Regiment who volunteered for service in the Bengal European Regiment were granted half-pay for life.

them by Mir Jafar, as a reward for their services in the late campaign, a promise endorsed by the Calcutta Council.

On January 30th Captain Jennings ordered a general parade, at which the assembled troops refused to obey the words of command. On demanding an explanation he was informed that they had lost all trust in the integrity of the Council, and that they would not serve the Company until its promises had been redeemed. Captain Jennings then issued a General Order at Patna, stating that he gave his word of honour that payment would be made as soon as the money arrived ; this pacified the troops for the time being, and they returned to duty. On February 3rd Jennings detached the grenadier company, some artillery, and two sepoy battalions to the Karamnassa River, and at the same time notified the Council of the late events, and urged the necessity of meeting the just demands of the troops without delay.

The discontent, however, continued to spread, and on February 11th about half-past nine in the morning, the " Assembly " was heard to beat without orders. This sound alarmed the officers, who hastened to the parade. The whole of the Regiment, with the exception of some non-commissioned officers, were found drawn up in line with their arms loaded and bayonets fixed, as also were the European cavalry and Mogul horse. Captain Jennings endeavoured to pacify the men, and seeing the ringleader, a man named Straw, a few paces in front with his firelock resting on his arm like an officer of grenadiers, advanced and seized him by the collar. (At this period all officers of the grenadier companies carried a light fuzil, whilst those of the battalion companies were armed with spontoons.) The troops, charging forward, rescued the man, whose orders alone were obeyed ; and soon after the whole body of mutineers left the camp, and proceeded towards the boundary of the Company's territory. There they were met by the Nawab Mir Jafar, who offered them £10,000 in part payment, but disdaining all offers of reconciliation, they proceeded on their way.

Captain Jennings had shown great judgment and presence of mind during a very trying and critical time, when the safety of the Army and Government depended on his actions.

He now ordered the officers, with several of the most influential non-commissioned officers, to follow the mutineers, and persuade them to return to their duty ; whilst he himself rode quickly to the Karamnassa and ordered the grenadier companies and the sepoy battalions quartered there to march to the headquarter camp by a side road.

The officers, partially successful, brought back to camp about one hundred European soldiers and the six guns which had fallen in rear.

Lieut. Claude Martin did good service on this occasion, as did Ensign Allen, who had been a serjeant in the 84th, and was now Adjutant of the Regiment. Martin, although he failed to bring back his men, obtained valuable information, which he communicated to Jennings. One of his Frenchmen had privately told him that it was the French soldiers who were

the instigators of the mutiny, their object being not so much to obtain their prize-money as to desert and take service with Mir Kassim's Army, where so many of their compatriots were serving. They subsequently intended, in conjunction with Sumru's Brigades, to gain possession of the whole country ; and had deputed the informant to offer Martin the supreme command of the proposed rebel army. This information gave the officers a handle with which to work on the feelings of the British soldiers, who had been kept in ignorance of the ultimate intentions of the Frenchmen. The men were now informed that they had been deceived and led into a rebellion, from a participation in which they would find it extremely difficult to extricate themselves. Captain Morgan and Ensign Davis went a second time to the rebel camp, armed with the information gathered from Martin, and they persuaded about eighty more of the men to return—amongst them, Straw, the rebel " Major " ; and at the same time the officers of the sepoy regiments collected about three hundred repentant sepoys, who returned to the camp.

The mutineers now elected as their commander a serjeant named Delamare, who had formerly been promised a commission by Major Adams, but, probably on account of misconduct on the serjeant's part, the promise was unfulfilled. Although a serjeant in the 84th, Delamare was of French extraction, and spoke French with fluency. The march of the mutineers was continued across the Karamnassa River into the Oude territory ; but before they left the British side seventy more of the European soldiers returned to camp, there remaining only 157 men of the Regiment in the rebel camp, and these nearly all foreigners.

Of the native deserters about one hundred men, chiefly belonging to the Mogul Horse, followed the rebels, all of whom proceeded to Allahabad, and there joining Mir Kassim's Army were drafted either into his artillery or into one of Sumru's trained brigades.

On the day after the mutinous troops had marched from camp Captain Jennings received £10,000 from the Nawab Mir Jafar ; and, having borrowed all the money he could obtain from other sources, issued an order directing a first distribution of prize-money to the troops on the following scale :—

	<i>Rupees each</i>
Serjeants of infantry, corporals and bombardiers of	
artillery ... ..	60
Corporals of infantry and gunners of artillery ... ..	60
Private soldiers and drummers ... ..	40
Havildars ... ..	12
Naiks ... ..	9
Sepoys ... ..	6

But this order, although it put an end to the mutiny amongst the Europeans, had a contrary effect upon the sepoys, who, deemed that their



services had not been sufficiently appreciated by the award of less than one-sixth of a European soldier's share. Under these circumstances, the native regiments, in a body, refused their prize-money, insisting on a fairer distribution.

The next day, February 13th, the Regiment and artillery were ordered under arms to protect the magazine and guns; and steps were taken to prevent communication between the Europeans and the sepoys; but this latter precaution was unnecessary, as the British soldiers were only too eager to prove that their penitence was sincere. Two of the sepoy regiments marched off towards the Karamnassa River, but on a sepoy's share being increased to Rs20, the deserters, as well as the discontented sepoy regiments who had remained in camp, expressed their regret for their misconduct, and were permitted to return to their duty. Captain Jennings, deeming it judicious to keep his troops employed after their insubordinate conduct, ordered a march to Sahsaram, and again, a few days afterwards, moved his camp to Harrigunge, on the Soane River.

On March 6th Jennings handed over command of the Field Force to Major Carnac, who, it will be remembered, had been ordered from Burdwan to take over command in succession to Major Adams.

Carnac at once ordered a general parade, and addressed the troops specially in reference to their late misconduct, which he reprobated in the strongest terms. He then informed them that the enemy was already in the field; this announcement was received with wild enthusiasm, as the troops considered it an opportunity for wiping out their past misconduct and of wreaking their vengeance on their treacherous comrades.

The British Army was now numerically equal to any that had hitherto taken the field in Bengal. The Regiment was reinforced in March by a complete English company, which joined from Calcutta, under Captain Kinlock. This brought its strength up to nearly 800 men, and rendered it more efficient, as it had got rid of the French element which had always been a source of difficulty and danger. Major Champion, recovered from the wound which he had received at the storming of Patna, joined the Army as second-in-command to Major Carnac.

Meanwhile the enemy's allied army reaching Benares on March 7th, had thrown a bridge of boats across the Ganges, but when half their army had crossed the bridge was broken. Here was a grand opportunity for Carnac to attack, but, to the annoyance of his troops, he declined to move: the bridge was repaired, and the whole of the enemy's army crossed. The discontent of the European soldiers at this palpable mistake was assuming a serious aspect: when Carnac on the 12th ordered the British camp to be struck, and on the 17th reached Buxar, where he halted. There orders were received from the Council for him to bestir himself, so on April 3rd a Council of War was called, and it was decided that as the enemy could not act in the field without provisions it should march back to Patna, where provisions were plentiful.

On April 4th the Army commenced its retreat to Patna, although the enemy was now in full march toward them, Dinapore being reached on the 13th. On the 20th, as the enemy were approaching in force, and their cavalry was already hovering all round the camp, directions were issued to move to Patna, which was reached on April 23rd. There the British took up a previously prepared extended position. It was well selected, and serviceable entrenchments were protected by a deep ditch. Mir Jafar's troops were placed on the east and part of the south faces of the Fort, his left flank resting on the Ganges. The British were on the west and south, joining Mir Jafar's near the centre of the south face, their right flank resting on the Ganges, the walls in rear of the beleaguered army being mounted with heavy guns. The south-west angle was considered the most likely point of attack.

The enemy arrived before Patna on the 24th; the Emperor's troops threatened those of Mir Jafar, whilst Mir Kassim's trained Brigades and artillery with sixteen field guns threatened the right wing of the British Army, Mir Kassim with the rest of his force being in reserve near Bankipore, a mile from Patna. The armies remained inactive for upwards of a week. The British force consisted of the Regiment, 2 companies of the Bombay European Regiment,\* 2 troops of European cavalry, and 7 battalions of sepoys, as well as the Mogul Horse and Mir Jafar's native army—in all, about 19,000 men: the enemy's force being estimated at about 40,000 men.

The enemy, on hearing of the near approach of British reinforcements, decided to attack, and commenced their advance on May 3rd soon after daybreak by an artillery bombardment, their main attack being directed against the south-west bastion. The Nawab Surajah Dowlah, who had been nominated to the chief command of the enemy's allied army, led the attack about noon. Sumru, with his three trained brigades, charged across the open plain towards the position held by the Regiment, but soon found himself exposed to a heavy cross fire, which broke his ranks, and another well-directed volley caused his men to stop and seek shelter in a ravine about 800 yards in front of the entrenchments.

The battle still raged fiercely towards the south-west corner defended by the Regiment and Bombay Europeans. The Nawab pushed forward his whole division and brought his artillery close up to the entrenchments, but the British fire was too much for him, and after two hours' fighting he was compelled to withdraw with heavy loss, Mir Kassim remaining inactive in spite of receiving several messages from the Nawab for help: the Nawab now ordered the advance of 5,000 fanatics, all perfectly naked, covered with paint and ashes, and armed only with tulwars. These unfortunates fell by hundreds under a deadly fire from the fortifications and entrenchments, and the remainder fled to the rear.

\* These two companies, under Captain Pemble, were incorporated with the Regiment on August 24th, 1765.

Some gallant charges were now made by the Rohilla Horse, but they were ultimately driven back with heavy loss, when, about three o'clock, the Nawab collected his whole available force, and made a spirited charge along the entire face of the British position. The Europeans, who received these repeated charges at the point of the bayonet, were now completely exhausted, and for a moment the enemy gained a footing inside the earthworks, where they succeeded in capturing and carrying away three of the drummer-boys of the Regiment. This so roused the men that they sprang from the entrenchments, dashed forward, broke through their assailants, and retook the drummer-boys, whom they brought back in triumph.

The enemy, now disheartened and beaten back at all points, were compelled to retire ; but a final and gallant charge was made by a large body of cavalry under their commander, Sheik Din Mahomed, who was killed in the advance ; his cavalry, disheartened, fled from the field bearing with them the body of their leader.

Never had a commander a finer opportunity than now presented itself to Carnac of converting a gallant defence into a crowning victory. Instead of this he ordered all firing to cease and all the troops to retire to the cover of the entrenchments. Thus, owing to the over-caution of their commander, the troops were under the necessity of allowing their defeated enemy to retire from before them in full possession of his guns, ammunition, and stores. The battle of Patna was now over ; and, although a few days after the European reinforcements arrived, Major Carnac still remained inactive.

Captain John Nollikins of the Regiment, who had been transferred from His Majesty's 39th Regiment, was severely wounded in this action.

On May 30th the enemy broke camp and retired on the strong Fort of Buxar, the works of which Major Carnac had considerably improved when he contemplated its defence during his occupation in March.

It is unnecessary to dwell upon the Calcutta Council's repeated failures to induce Major Carnac to advance against the enemy : suffice it to say that a welcome order was received from the Court of Directors announcing the removal of Major Carnac from their Service,\* and on June 28th he temporarily handed over the command to Major Champion. Although this order of the Court's was not issued in consequence of Carnac's blunders whilst in command, it was none the less acceptable to the Council, who gladly took the opportunity of placing a more efficient officer in command of the army in the field.

Major Hector Munro, late of His Majesty's 89th Regiment, was appointed to succeed Major Carnac. Munro was on the eve of his departure from Madras to England early in the year, with the remnant of his Regiment, when intelligence was received of the death of Major Adams. The offer of the command of the Bengal Army was at that time made to Major Munro ; in the meantime, however, Carnac had been appointed, but on that officer's

\* Major Carnac was removed for having opposed Mr. Vansittart, but he was ultimately restored to the Service, in which he rose to the rank of Major-General.

removal the offer was renewed, and accepted by Munro. The remnant of the 89th and some of the 90th Regiment, amounting to a little over one hundred men, volunteered to accompany Major Munro to Bengal, and, the Bengal Government having accepted their services, they were transferred to the Company's service, ultimately joining the Regiment.

On August 18th Major Munro assumed command of the Field Force then at Patna. He was in every way the very opposite to his predecessor—brave, almost rash in his daring, a strict disciplinarian, but, though despising unnecessary show, rigidly insisting on military etiquette and the strictest obedience to orders.

He introduced a code of regulations with additional parades and exercises ; these reforms caused no trouble with the European troops, but the sepoy battalions resented them, and on September 8th one battalion stationed at Manji mutinied. Munro immediately dispatched a detachment of the Regiment to suppress the mutiny, which it did successfully, marching the mutineers back to Chupra, where Munro was on parade to receive them, supported by the two grenadier companies of the Regiment, a company of European artillery, and a loyal sepoy battalion. After a drumhead court-martial, twenty-four of the ringleaders were sentenced to death, and were blown from the guns after a very trying scene.

Major Munro now turned his attention to preparations for the capture of the Fortress of Buxar, the headquarters of the allied enemy. He decided on employing a light, mobile and well-equipped force rather than a large and consequently slower-moving one ; he selected the two grenadier and six battalion companies of the Regiment, amounting to about five hundred men ; the two companies of the Bombay European Regiment, the Marines and details of His Majesty's 84th, 89th, and 90th Regiments, amounting in all to about 200 men ; two companies of European artillery, and a troop of European cavalry. In addition there were eight battalions of sepoys, and about one thousand Mogul Horse. The force left for the defence of Behar consisted of 300 of the Regiment, a company of artillery, 300 Mogul Horse, and four battalions of sepoys.

Having made a long march on the 9th, Munro reached Kalvaghat on the bank of the Soane, on October 10th to find the opposite bank occupied by the enemy. This might have proved awkward, but for the foresight of Munro, who had previously ordered Major Champion to move from Chupra on the 6th with his force and advance along the west bank of the river. In consequence the enemy hastily withdrew on Champion's opening fire, and Munro was able to cross the river Soane unopposed.

The march was resumed on October 12th, the first division under Major  
**Battle of** Champion being the advanced guard, the second under Major  
**Buxar.** Pemble, and the third under Major Stibbert. After a skirmish at the Bonass Nala, the army arrived before the Fortress of Buxar on October 22nd, where Munro found the Nawab occupying an entrenched position on the

plain to the east of the fortress. The two forces remained watching each other for upwards of an hour, when the enemy retired within his entrenchments.

Munro now seized a village about one thousand yards in advance of the left of his line, and threw a strong picquet forward to occupy a grove of trees about the same distance in front of his right ; his camp facing that of the enemy. A Council of War decided that a rest should be made during the 23rd, an assault being made on the 24th.

Munro's plan was for a detachment, under Lieutenant Nicoll of the Native Infantry, to proceed along the bed of the Torah Nala and endeavour to turn the enemy's right flank ; whilst a vigorous attack was made along the whole of the enemy's front ; it was hoped that by this means the enemy would be thrown into confusion, and the British could then advance and capture the camp. In order to divert the attention of the enemy, sham batteries were to be commenced opposite the left of their entrenchments.

The working parties on these dummy batteries started early on the 23rd, under Major Champion, but soon after daybreak he discovered the enemy in motion, and at once sent word to Major Munro, who ordered the drums to beat to arms, and formed his forces into two divisions, one in immediate rear of the other, and the reserve in the centre between these two lines.

The front line was formed of two battalion companies of the Regiment and two companies of the Bombay European Regiment, these being formed into one battalion, commanded by Captain Macpherson ; the detachments of His Majesty's troops and marines under Captain Wemyss, four battalions of sepoys, and the greater portion of the artillery. The Europeans were in the centre of this line, the artillery at intervals between the battalions. The rear line under Major Pemble, was formed of the remainder of the Regiment, four battalions of sepoys, and some artillery, the same order being observed as in the front line.

The reserve, under Captain Hay, was formed of the two grenadier companies of the Regiment and some cavalry.

It was past eight o'clock before all the troops were in position. The enemy advanced in good order, and as his artillery was outranging that of the British, Munro ordered a general advance. The morass on the left front caused the British to incline to their right, but when clear of it the advance proceeded steadily, the artillery was then able to fire with great effect on the enemy. At that moment a large body of Durani Horse made a determined charge on the British left, hoping to force a passage between the two advancing lines. Munro immediately ordered his reserve to take ground to their left and face outwards, whilst half a battalion in the front line wheeled back, and half a battalion in the rear wheeled forward, closing up the gap. Unexpectedly met by a fire of grape and musketry, the Durani Horse were checked and repulsed with heavy loss. Passing to the rear, they now charged the rear-guard, consisting of the Mogul Horse and a detachment of sepoys. The Horse fled, and Lieutenant Verture, who was in command of this party, unable to

resist so powerful an attack, retired by alternate companies as steadily as if on parade, and regained the main body. All the baggage fell into the enemy's hands, who, flushed with their success, made several desperate charges upon the rear line. Having lost their leader they were beaten off leaving a large portion of their men on the field.

In the meantime the front line had not been idle, the enemy had made several charges on both wings, they had also brought up a battery of heavy guns and posted them in the village on the British right, whilst the regular brigades of the enemy had kept up an incessant fire of artillery and musketry. Some wavering was now noticed by Munro in his lines, so he immediately ordered a sepoy battalion on the right of the line to storm the battery in the village. This they did gallantly, driving the enemy back at the point of the bayonet, carrying the village and capturing the battery. The sepoy battalion then attempted to capture the enemy's guns posted in the grove of trees to the left, but they were found to be strongly supported, and this attack failed. A charge on the flanks by a body of cavalry compelled the sepoys to retire. Munro ordered Champion at the head of the remainder of the right wing of the front line to advance in support of the retiring troops. This force consisted of two battalion companies of the Regiment, the company of Royal troops, two sepoy battalions, with artillery and four field-pieces. Major Champion's troops dashed forward, and pushing through the grove by well-directed volleys sent the enemy flying. They left their guns, twenty-seven in number, behind.

At the same time Shuja Kuli Khan, one of the Nawab's commanders, had advanced his division, about six thousand horse and foot, to attack the British left wing, leading his cavalry in person. He made many gallant charges, but was mortally wounded. His infantry, scattered in its attempts to struggle through the morass, suffered severely from the British grape fire. This attack ended in complete failure, and the division broke and finally fled. The enemy's regular brigades, posted in the centre of their line, deprived of the support of this division, hesitated and commenced to retreat, but in good order, carrying with them all their artillery. This was taken by the enemy as a signal for a general flight, and with the grove and village on the right taken, and the left free to act on the offensive, the result of the Battle of Buxar was no longer doubtful.

Major Munro perceiving that this was the crisis of the action gave orders for a general advance. The whole force broke into columns, the left under Major Stibbert following the enemy towards the Torah River, the right advancing upon the entrenchments, and the rear line accompanied by Munro following as a reserve. The Nawab followed by a strong party of horse and the trained brigades crossed the Torah River, and immediately ordered the bridge of boats to be destroyed, thus completely cutting off the retreat of his infantry and camp followers.

A fearful scene of carnage ensued ; elephants, camels, bullocks, horses, men, women and children, pressing forward to gain the opposite bank of the

river, were precipitated into the stream, and several thousand human beings perished. At sunset the troops were recalled, and took up their ground for the night near the Fort.

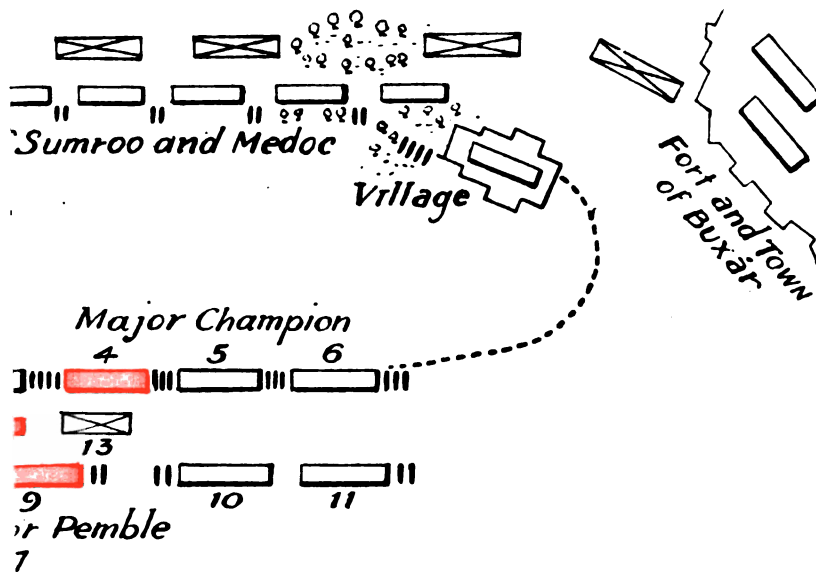
One hundred and seventy-two guns were captured, besides an immense booty. Exclusive of the articles plundered, the booty, when sold, realized upwards of twelve lakhs of rupees ! The Regiment's losses were—Lieutenant Thompson severely wounded (loss of leg), 37 men killed, and 58 wounded ; the total British loss being 9 officers and 847 rank and file killed and wounded. The enemy loss was over 2,000 killed and 2,000 wounded.

The battle honour " Buxar " was ordered to be emblazoned on the Colours of the Regiment, and it has been borne ever since.

The Battle of Buxar was won by the discipline, steadiness and courage of the British troops, under the cool and determined leadership of Munro, for the enemy fought bravely, specially the cavalry ; it was the same steadiness and discipline as was displayed at Albuhera and Waterloo. The result of this victory was that the British by the beginning of the following year had extended their frontier as far as Allahabad.



THE INDIA MEDAL  
1799-1826.



1. 2. 5. 6. 7. 8. 10. 11. Sepoys.
3. Composite Battalion of Marines & Kings Troops
- 4 Composite Battalion of 4 Companies each  
of Bengal & Bombay Europeans
- 9 Four Companies of Bengal Europeans
- 12 Grenadier Companies of Bengal Europeans
13. Cavalry
14. Mogul Cavalry & 4 Companies Sepoys  
(Baggage Guard.)



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## CHAPTER IV

**BATTLES OF PORTO NOVO—SHOLINGHUR—CUDDALORE—BETOORAH.**

*Reference Maps Nos. 8, 9, 10. Pages 76, 78, 80.*

THE army remained at Buxar till the 27th, when it crossed the Ganges and advanced on Benares. Major Munro, fully alive to the importance of securing the goodwill of the inhabitants of the country, strictly prohibited all plundering or burning, and as a warning a native non-commissioned officer detected plundering was tried, sentenced and hanged in the presence of the whole army. The country was in consequence exempted, for the first time in the history of Bengal, from the terrors and miseries which had hitherto accompanied an invading army in India. On November 8th Benares was reached, and Munro again prohibited all pillage, the inhabitants paying £40,000 to the troops in lieu of booty.

The day following the Battle of Buxar, the Emperor Shah Alam wrote to Major Munro, stating that he desired to place himself once more under British protection ; but the Major replied he had no power to treat with him until he had received orders from Calcutta. These were received on the 19th, and on the 23rd a treaty was formally signed, followed by a royal salute, when the Major and his staff, with most of the officers in camp, waited upon the Emperor to pay their respects. The following order of November 24th will show how such matters were managed in those days :—" Such of the officers as will be off duty to-morrow, who choose to wait on the King, and wish him joy on being put in possession of Surajah Dowlah's country by the English, are desired to meet at the Head Quarters at 9 o'clock to-morrow evening : it is necessary to acquaint them that it is customary to make him a salaam on the occasion, and the least that should be given by a captain is five gold mohurs, and three by a subaltern."

Whilst the army was encamped on the plain outside the city, the two grenadier companies of the Regiment formed part of a force under Major Pemble detached to lay siege to the Fortress of Chunar, picturesquely situated on an isolated rock, 200 feet above the Ganges on its right bank.

The main army had lately been reinforced by two companies of the Regiment, one company of the " Select Picket," and two battalions of sepoy, which augmentation had enabled Munro to detach the two grenadier companies of the Regiment to Chunar, and these he now increased by the company of cadets, three battalions of sepoy, one company of pioneers, and 50 artillerymen with nine guns.

The cadets company, or "Select Picket," as it was usually called, were anxious for an opportunity to distinguish themselves ; the commissioned officers in the Company's service being selected from among the cadets. The "Select Picket" occupied the post of honour in the field, and "was always posted on the right of the advanced guard."\*

The force under Major Pemble crossed the Ganges on the evening of November 26th, and pitched camp next morning on the right bank. Major Munro the following morning marched with the main army to Sultanpore, a town opposite to Chunar.

**Assault  
on Chunar.**

Batteries were thrown up, and a breach, at the south-west angle, was reported practicable on December 2nd ; and on the 3rd, before daybreak, the storming party, consisting of the grenadier companies of the Regiment, a company of cadets, and one battalion of sepoy, advanced to the attack ; but by a very unusual arrangement the sepoy led the attack on the breach. At first they advanced up the hill with great coolness, but in addition to musketry fire, their progress was soon stopped by large masses of stones hurled down upon them from the walls, which crushed to pieces all those on whom they fell, or hurled them, bruised and stunned, to the bottom. The sepoy, astonished at this novel form of attack, began to hesitate, and finally gave way, bearing back the cadets in their immediate rear, and the grenadiers, who supported the whole. Major Pemble now drew off the storming party, and prepared for a second assault, which took place on the night of the 4th, with the order of advance reversed, the grenadiers taking the lead, then the "Select Picket," and last of all the sepoy.

But the enemy had meanwhile repaired and strengthened the breach, and after several desperate attempts had been made to ascend the troops were withdrawn, and Pemble's detachment recrossed the river and rejoined Headquarters at Sultanpore on the 5th, the whole army returning to Benares on December 6th.

The Nawab, convinced of the superior power of the British, sought to come to terms, but negotiations fell through ; so, collecting his scattered forces, he formed an alliance with the Mahrattas and prepared to oppose the advance of the British.

Again the British Army was to lose its commander. Major Munro, sadly needing rest, and having nobly accomplished his work, asked to be relieved of his command that he might visit England. To Major Munro the service owes a debt of gratitude ; for though others before him had led the way to victory, and exhibited extraordinary displays of enterprise, skill and gallantry, he was the first to introduce strict discipline and to place the Bengal Army in that high state of efficiency which it has ever since maintained.

Just at this time Carnac, who had been promoted Colonel, returned from England, and was ordered to relieve Major Munro, with the rank of Brigadier-General. Pending Carnac's arrival, Major Sir Robert Fletcher, of the Regiment,

\* "East India Military Calendar," Vol. I, pp. 44, 45.

by seniority assumed command of the army. This officer had rejoined the Regiment on October 24th, the day after the Battle of Buxar, with 300 recruits.

The Nawab, refraining from a direct attack, contented himself by harassing the camp at Benares by constant cavalry attacks and by cutting communications. Fletcher therefore decided to form a Light Brigade, composed of eight companies of the Regiment, made up to 100 men each, 60 European cavalry, one company of artillery with six field guns, and eight battalions of sepoys ; seven days' provisions being carried on camels by the Brigade. The rest of the army, under Major Stibbert, covered the city of Benares.

On January 18th Fletcher attacked the enemy's camp, which was quickly captured. The enemy's plan had been to make little or no resistance, hoping that the British would then break up for loot, when their cavalry would swoop down, recapture the camp and destroy the scattered British Army. Fletcher, fully alive to the enemy's stratagem, at once advanced and engaged the Nawab's army, which broke and fled, and was pursued and cut up by the cavalry. On the 20th the army encamped at Jaunpore, and, pushing on again, arrived before the Fortress of Allahabad, at the junction of the Jumna and Ganges, early in February. On arrival of the boats with the siege artillery and stores, operations were

**Capture of  
Enemy Camp  
at Benares.**

immediately commenced by a vigorous bombardment, which after a few hours made a practical breach. On February 11th the Governor, deeming resistance useless, surrendered the town and fortress. The British were now in possession of all the principal strongholds of the Nawab, the whole country submitting to the British as their conquerors, and to the Emperor Shah Alam as their Sovereign.

**Capture of  
Allahabad.**

In the meantime Major Stibbert had organized a small force to attack Chunar again ; practical breaches were made, but before the attack was launched the commander of the fortress capitulated, on February 8th.

**Capture of Fort  
of Chunar.**

On February 13th Brigadier-General Carnac assumed command of the army, but the war was over, and, there being no enemy in the field, he proceeded to annex the whole of Oude. He arrived at Chunar, and on the 18th the following order was issued :—" The Commander-in-Chief requests that the officers of the army will wear round their arm the usual mark of military mourning as a just compliment to the memory of Mir Jafar Khan, a person to whom the army is so much indebted. By applying to the Quarter Master, they will be supplied with crepe for that purpose." This refers to the death of Mir Jafar Khan in January at Murshedabad.

On March 1st the headquarters of the British Army, with which was the Regiment, was concentrated at Allahabad. On May 3rd the troops had an engagement with the Mahratta Army near the village of Karrah, and forced them back to their camp at Kalpi.

**Action at  
Karrah.**

On the 15th Sir Robert Fletcher, who had been appointed by General Carnac

to command the troops in the field, again took the field against the Mahrattas and on the 21st attacked their outposts, and a spirited action ensued, during which the British field-pieces and musketry did great execution amongst the enemy's forces, formed mostly of cavalry. The action, which was a desultory one, lasted for upwards of an hour, and terminated in the complete defeat of the Mahrattas : the British loss was considerable, but the amount of the casualties is not recorded. The Doab was completely cleared of the Mahrattas, who retreated towards Gwalior, and the army commenced its return to Allahabad, 400 of the Regiment with 8 field guns forming the advance. Allahabad was reached on the 30th, and there the army was divided into three columns, one being stationed at Allahabad, one at Jaunpore, and one at Benares.

**Battle of  
Kalpi.**

The Regiment had suffered several casualties in the field and also from continued exposure during this, the hottest time of the year ; a great number of the rank and file as well as officers had succumbed, amongst the latter being Captain Henry Spelman, Thomas Bonaker, and Ross.

It is interesting to note that under the Nawab Mir Jafar's will £50,000 was bequeathed to Lord Clive for his own use ; but Clive, feeling that the new covenants precluded him from accepting the legacy, instituted a fund for the relief of officers and men of the Bengal Army who might be forced to retire from the Service, either on account of wounds or disease, before they were entitled to pensions or relief from the Government. This bequest, known as "Lord Clive's Fund," proved a sterling benefit to the Bengal Army, which enjoyed its benefits for nearly a hundred years.

Early in May the Nawab, deserted by his allies, alone and powerless, determined to follow the example of the Emperor and submit unconditionally to the British.

Lord Clive's second Administration commenced on May 3rd. His previous services in India had been acknowledged by his Sovereign and Parliament : he had been promoted Major-General, nominated a Companion of the Bath, and created a Peer of Ireland under the title of Baron Clive of Plassey.

We must now deal with the reforms which Clive introduced into the army. Since the earliest days of the East India Company it had always been a recognized privilege that, if the officers should render special services to the native princes, they should be allowed to receive presents in proportion. Further—although not perhaps strictly recognized—it was well known by the authorities that the officers in the Service participated in profits accruing from trading transactions. The pay of the officers of the army was very small, and, rightly or wrongly, the above-mentioned privileges were viewed by the officer in the light of compensation for the insufficient pay.

The pay per month, half batta, full batta, and double batta, of officers of the European infantry had been as follows :—

<i>Rank.</i>	<i>Pay Proper in Garrison or at the Presidency.</i>	<i>Half Batta in Cantonment.</i>	<i>Full Batta with in the Company's Territories or in Cantonments beyond them.</i>	<i>Double Batta on Service beyond the Company's Territories.</i>
	£ s. d.	£ s. d.	£ s. d.	£ s. d.
Colonel ... ..	31 0 0	38 15 0	77 10 0	155 0 0
Lieut.-Colonel ...	24 16 0	31 0 0	62 0 0	124 0 0
Major ... ..	18 12 0	23 5 0	46 10 0	93 0 0
Captain ... ..	12 8 0	9 6 0	18 12 0	37 4 0
Capt.-Lieutenant ...	6 4 0	9 6 0	18 12 0	37 4 0
Lieutenant ... ..	6 4 0	6 4 0	12 8 0	24 16 0
Ensign ... ..	5 0 0	4 13 0	9 6 0	18 12 0
Cadet ... ..	—	3 2 0	6 4 0	12 8 0

Surgeons were paid as Captains, Assistant-Surgeons as Lieutenants.

In addition to these sums, Colonels commanding brigades were entitled to £4 per diem on account of "table allowances."

Officers were supplied with tents, according to rank, these being carried on the line of march free of cost.

It is now necessary that some explanation should be given regarding "batta," which formed so large an item in the officers' allowances. "Batta" was originally granted as a donation intended to compensate officers for extra expenses when at a distance from the Presidency town.

"Field and double batta" had been granted to officers of the Bengal Army under special conditions and circumstances—a boon which had not been granted in the other Presidencies—and Clive was, under orders from the Court of Directors, about to place all the armies on an equal footing as regards "batta."

There were these two reforms to be introduced, both trenching on what was held by the officers to be their rightful privileges, and both materially affecting their emoluments; and it was Clive's aim, as far as possible, in carrying out the orders of the Court, to provide against unnecessary loss of emoluments, and to secure, as far as possible, the goodwill, at any rate, of the senior officers.

With this view Clive established what nowadays would be called "a joint stock trading association." As all private trade by the Company's servants was to be prohibited, he intended that the proposed "Association," superintended by the Government, should supply funds to compensate the senior officers of the army and others for the loss of privileges hitherto enjoyed.

The capital of the "Association" was divided into thirty-five full shares, corresponding with the interests of the holders, and it was estimated that each share would yield a profit of £5,000 per annum.

The shares were allotted as follows :—

	Shares.
The Governor ... ..	5
Second in Council and Commander-in-Chief, each ...	3
10 other members of Council and Colonels of Brigades, each	2
1 Chaplain, 14 Senior Merchants, and 3 Lieutenant-Colonels, each ... ..	1
13 Factors, 4 Majors, 6 Surgeons, 1 Secretary to Government, 1 Sub-Accountant, 1 Assistant, each ... ..	1

Clive thus assured the interests of the senior officers of the army.

No serious opposition was at first raised to the terms of the new covenant : copies were sent to the different stations, which were duly executed and returned to headquarters without comment.

In August Clive turned his attention to the reorganization of the Bengal Army. The "Bengal European Battalion"—at this time upwards of 1,600 strong—was ordered to be formed into three regiments, or, as they would now be called, battalions. To enable Clive to carry out this change effectively, several officers, specially selected for commands, and a large number of recruits, had been sent by the Court of Directors for service in Bengal.

The command of the "1st European Regiment" was conferred on Brigadier-General Carnac ; "the 2nd" on Lieut.-Colonel Knox\* ; and "the 3rd" on Lieut.-Colonel Sir Robert Barker ; the two last-named officers being promoted Colonels.

Majors Sir Robert Fletcher, Peach, and Chapman were promoted to Lieutenant Colonelcies ; and Majors Chapman and Stibbert, and Captain Hugh Grant were appointed to the three Regimental Majorities.

Each Regiment of European infantry, consisting of nine companies, was composed as follows :—

1 Colonel.	3 Surgeon-Mates.
1 Lieutenant-Colonel.	1 Adjutant.
1 Major.	1 Quartermaster.
6 Captains.	36 Serjeants.
1 Captain-Lieutenant.	36 Corporals.
9 Lieutenants.	27 Drummers.
16 Ensigns.	630 Privates.
1 Surgeon.	

The whole of the Bengal Army was divided at the same time into three brigades, each brigade consisting of :—

1 Battalion of European infantry.	1 Company of artillery.
7 Battalions of sepoys.	1 Rissala of cavalry.

\* Lieut.-Colonel Knox having died before the Second European Regiment was organized, Lieut.-Colonel Richard Smith was appointed to its command.

The first brigade of the army was stationed at Monghyr, supplying detachments for Calcutta and Murshedabad ; the second at Allahabad, its special duties being the protection of the Emperor's provinces in the Doab ; and the third at Bankipore. The second and third brigades supplied detachments for Lucknow, Jaunpore, Chunar, Midnapore, and Chittagong. The Colonels of the European battalions commanded the brigades of which they formed part, but as General Carnac's extra duties required his frequent presence at the Presidency, the charge of his brigade devolved on the next senior officer, Lieut.-Colonel Sir Robert Fletcher.

The number of European soldiers available to bring the battalions up to the assigned strength fell far short of their requirements ; the first and second battalions being tolerably strong, but the third very weak, and composed mostly of recruits.

On August 24th an order, under which the Bombay troops serving in Bengal were incorporated into the latter army, was published.

Under this order the two companies of the Bombay European Regiment, under Major Pemble, were incorporated with the Regiment. By the above regulations the army was placed on a more efficient footing, each brigade forming a force complete in all its branches, and capable of encountering any native army that could be brought against it.

To maintain the strength of the European Army in Bengal, the " Select " Committee requested the Court of Directors to supply 500 European recruits annually.

But the time had now arrived for Clive to carry out the orders of the Court of Directors and cancel the payment of the " double batta " to the troops.

It has already been explained that " double batta " was originally intended to cover extra expenses entailed on officers of the army, whilst on service, or stationed, at a distance from the Presidency town.

It was after the Battle of Plassey that the newly-appointed Nawab, Mir Jafar Khan, in the fulness of his gratitude to the army which had so materially assisted him to his throne, promised them " double batta " as long as they might be employed in his service.

When Mir Kassim had succeeded Mir Jafar, he provided for the continuance of the " double batta " ; and to ensure its regular payment by the Company, Mir Kassim assigned to them the rich provinces of Midnapore, Burdwan, and Chittagong. Thus the " double batta " had been regularly paid to the army for seven consecutive years, and was considered by the officers as property in which they had a vested interest.

Clive had now arrived in Bengal with reiterated orders on the subject, and although he had informed the Court that he disapproved of their order, he felt that the execution of the positive instructions could not be longer delayed.

In September a Government notification was published, stating that on January 1st, 1766, the issue of double batta to the troops would be discontinued,



an exception being made in the case of the 2nd Brigade, stationed at Allahabad, "on account of the high price of provisions at that station, and the expenses of procuring the necessary European articles at so great a distance from the Presidency."

No opposition to Clive's orders was apparent for some weeks, but a feeling of discontent had pervaded the minds of a large proportion of the junior officers of the army.

The field officers who had been promised shares in the "Trading Association" felt themselves compensated for any loss of allowances, and they for the most part discouraged complaints by their juniors, but as the effects of the order began to tell on the monthly pay, and as communications between the malcontents became more frequent, their discontent was openly expressed.

Committees were secretly appointed in each brigade to ascertain the feelings of individual sufferers, and it soon became apparent that the dissatisfaction was general, it being universally felt that the order was a cruel attempt to rob the juniors of their just rights, and that the seniors had been bought over by the Governor with shares in his "Joint Stock Association," in order that they might assist the Government in depriving the juniors of the "batta" to which they deemed themselves justly entitled.

The malcontents determined in the first instance that an appeal should be made to the Council for redress; but, should this not be accorded, that a "union" of the captains and subalterns should be organized, all binding themselves to resign their commissions on a given day.

Funds were largely subscribed, and an oath administered; the confederates swearing that they would protect "at the sacrifice of their lives" any of the members who might be condemned to death for mutiny. It was arranged that the general resignation of commissions was to take place on June 1st, 1766.

On April 25th Colonel Sir Robert Fletcher informed Lord Clive that the officers of the 1st Brigade were bent on making a supreme effort to recover their batta; and that they had forwarded to him their commissions, and refused to draw their pay for the month of May; at the same time expressing their willingness to serve as volunteers until the decision of the Government should be made known. It soon became apparent that the movement was universal. A letter found its way into Lord Clive's possession, which was written by an officer at Karrah, signed "Full batta," from which it appeared that 150 officers had entered into an agreement to resign their commissions on a given day.

Just as these alarming reports of the mutinous feelings amongst the officers of the army reached Clive he became aware that the Mahrattas were not only threatening the districts under the government of the Emperor, but had also avowed their intention of invading the Company's territories in Bengal.

Clive, quite aware of the gravity of the situation, ordered a Special Committee, composed of himself as chairman, and General Carnac and Mr.

Sykes as members, to advise on the question of what was called "the mutiny of the officers of the Bengal Army."

The Committee resolved to make no concessions, but to repress the disorder with a strong hand; to discover the ringleaders of the mutiny, and punish them severely, but to deal out mercy to the penitents judiciously.

Now, as there was a large force at Murshedabad, Clive rightly supposed that the officers quartered there had joined the defection. With these men Clive undertook to deal personally, and sending for the officers singly, he placed before them the enormity of their offence, urging them to pause before committing the serious crime of mutiny. After some hesitation the two senior captains declared their intention of cancelling their resignations, their example being followed by all the juniors except two Lieutenants.\*

This course, which had succeeded so well at Murshedabad, was tried with equal success at the Presidency, most of the malcontents returning to their duty.

Clive's hands now strengthened, he proceeded to Monghyr, where the disaffection was at its height. The troops at this station were commanded by Sir Robert Fletcher, who had pursued a course of deception which tended to mislead and embarrass the Government; for, whilst openly condemning the conduct of the officers under his command, he had secretly encouraged them in their disaffection.

Previous to his departure from Murshedabad to Monghyr, Clive had wisely deputed Major Champion, of the 1st Bengal European Regiment, to endeavour to bring the officers at Monghyr to reason, but his attempts had not been attended with much success. It was discovered that the officers at Monghyr had communicated with their comrades at Madras, explaining the nature of their grievances, and attempting to dissuade them from taking service in Bengal.

Immediate measures were now adopted by the Committee to prevent any letters of a seditious nature leaving Calcutta.

In the meantime several officers of the Madras Army had accepted the offers of the Bengal Government, and some of these had already arrived in Calcutta and proceeded to stations up-country.

Instructions were now sent to officers commanding brigades to accept all resignations tendered, and to dispatch those so resigning to Calcutta.

But affairs at Allahabad had taken a more serious turn. As soon as Colonel R. Smith, commanding, discovered that his officers were implicated, he placed several under arrest, and, turning out his sepoy, ordered them to shoot any of the prisoners who might attempt to escape, and by this bold measure he brought the disaffected officers to reason; and sending the six ringleaders to Patna to be tried by court-martial, he released the rest on their making promises of good behaviour.

\* These two officers afterwards expressed contrition, and were restored to the Service with loss of rank.

On May 15th Lord Clive arrived at Monghyr, the disaffected officers not being present, as Sir Robert Fletcher had on the previous day ordered them out of cantonments.

A detachment of sepoys, under a trustworthy officer, was now sent to the officers' encampment with orders for them to proceed "forthwith" to Calcutta. The effect of this order was startling, for there was no time allowed for preparations of any kind, and those not provided with the means of transit were obliged to proceed on foot.

On May 20th Lord Clive reached Bankipore, where the 2nd Brigade was quartered under Sir Robert Barker, who, when his officers handed him their commissions, had simply declined to receive them; the officers still maintaining a determined attitude, but continued performing their duties with regularity. Simultaneously with Clive's arrival at Bankipore came the intelligence of the fate of the malcontents at Monghyr, causing symptoms of hesitation on the part of the Bankipore officers, which terminated in absolute submission.

It only remains to state the measures adopted by Lord Clive to punish the offenders. Repentance was now the order of the day, and the majority of those who had been sent in disgrace to Calcutta petitioned to be allowed to cancel their resignations and return to the service. These petitions were ultimately granted, but not until the offenders had waited in uncertainty and anxiety for several months, during which time those officers who had taken service in Bengal from Bombay and Madras had been promoted over their heads, Clive being thus enabled to mete out punishment according to the demerits of each case.

On September 22nd a General Order was published by the authority of the Court of Directors, granting an amnesty to all concerned in the mutiny.

The means which Clive adopted to suppress the mutiny in the Bengal Army proved him to be pre-eminently a leader of men. Whilst the officers were guilty of defection and insubordination, he was fearless, uncompromising, and even severe; but as soon as signs of contrition were perceptible—tempering justice with mercy, and throwing to the winds all feelings of revenge—he again stood forward as the soldiers' champion and friend.

The Regiment had now served the East India Company for ten years; and it will be interesting at this period to refer to a work published at the Cape of Good Hope in 1814, by Mr. George Francois Grand, called "Narrative of the Life of a Gentleman long resident in India." Mr. Grand joined the Regiment as a cadet immediately after the events just recorded, and his experience can hardly fail to be of interest to those serving in the Regiment in after years.

He says:—"After bearing a soldier's musket on the line of march, constantly attending the mock sieges and battles which took place in our fixed encampment on the borders of the river, the Colonel was pleased to accede to the wishes expressed to him on my behalf by Lord Clive, and I

suddenly found myself rewarded for the activity and diligence which I had displayed in unremitting attention to my duty, by being nominated to act as Ensign. We returned soon after to cantonments, where I had the gratification of seeing myself confirmed by a Commission of Ensign, signed by his Lordship on September 4th (1766). This early act of approbation actuated my zeal, and for three years I served in the European Regiment under the celebrated martinet, the late Colonel Gilbert Ironside ; I can equally vouch [that] my constant perseverance in the readiest observance to my superiors acquired me new friends and the esteem of the Commanding Officer of the Brigade—Colonel Charles Chapman—in whose family I lived, and acted as Assistant-Secretary to his Staff establishment. The Army, at my entrance into the Service, consisted of three Brigades. Each Brigade consisted of one European Regiment, six Battalions of Sepoys, and a proportion of Artillery, with 100 Black Horse ; and the highest rank enjoyed for such a command was that of Colonel. Besides these, there were in different cities of the three Provinces Militia Sepoys, under the name of Pergunnah. These served for the purpose of guarding the treasuries.

“In the month of September, 1766, I was on orders to proceed up the country with a detachment of recruits for the three Brigades under the command of the late Colonel James Hannay (then Captain Hannay), who as well as myself had recently arrived from Europe. Arrived at Bankipore, then the cantonment of the 2nd Brigade, I was introduced by him to the late General Richard Smith, then the Colonel thereof. This Brigade took the field soon after repairing to the banks of the Carumnassah, and was there stationed at hand to assist our Ally, the Nawab Vizier Shujah ul Dowlah, had the Afghan Prince Abdulah Khan put his threats into execution of invading the former's dominions. Our cantonments in 1767 took fire, and such was the rapidity with which the thatched bungalows burnt that scarcely an officer had one moment to save anything of his equipment. The Government, with that liberality consistent to men vested to such a trust, required upon honour a statement from each officer of his loss, and every one was reimbursed accordingly to the stated amount. This accident gave rise to the question of barracks both at Dinapore and Berhampore, and the grand scale on which these were formed entailed such an expense on the Honourable Company and sunk such a capital as to have caused them to regret that the double full batta had been struck off by Lord Clive instead of being continued in the field, and the full batta preserved in the Company's provinces conditionally that each officer found his own quarters.”

On January 29th Lord Clive left India for the last time, accompanied by his friend General Carnac. Many able and eminent men have succeeded him, but in none were the qualities of a most able and gallant soldier and of an eminent statesman so remarkably blended, and in few were either of them exhibited in an equal degree. General Richard Smith succeeded to the command of the army. Lieut.-Colonel Joseph Peach was promoted to the

vacant colonelcy, and Major Henry Grant to the lieutenant-colonelcy, as Major Giles Stibbert, to whom it would have gone, was retiring.

The Emperor Shah Alam entered his capital, Delhi, on December 25th, by the help of the Mahrattas, but hardly had he done so before they compelled him to take the field against the Rohillas, their object being plunder. The Emperor's aim was to annex the Rohilla country, lying between the Upper Ganges and the Himalayas, extending as far east as the borders of Oude. The Rohillas now proposed an offensive and defensive treaty with the Nawab. In December, terrified at the encroachments of the Mahrattas, he wrote to the Calcutta Council, urging them to send European troops for his protection, as he was fearful that the Rohillas and Mahrattas, combining, would invade the Oude province.

The Council felt bound, under the treaty of 1765 between Clive and the Nawab, to comply with the Nawab's request, and in consequence Sir Robert Barker, with a portion of his Brigade, including the 2nd Bengal European Regiment, some sepoy battalions and artillery, were ordered to take the field and prevent the Mahrattas from menacing the Kingdom of Oude.

The combined armies of the Nawab and of the Company entered Rohilcund in 1773, but the Mahrattas nevertheless overran the country and destroyed Moradabad and Sumbul, Sir Robert's orders being to protect the provinces of Oude, but on no account to act on the offensive; fortunately in May, 1773, the Mahrattas were recalled by their Government to protect their own provinces threatened from without.

Mr. Warren Hastings had been appointed Governor-General early in 1772, and had been instructed by the Court of Directors to reduce his military expenditure. The Nawab of Oude being anxious to exterminate the Rohillas and annex the country offered Hastings high terms for the services of the British soldiers; this seemed an easy way out of the difficulty. To use Hastings' own words, "A saving of near one-third of our military expenses would be effected during the period of such service, the stipulation of 40 lacs (£400,000) would afford an ample supply to our treasury: the Nawab would be freed from a troublesome neighbour, and his dominions be much more defensible."

The offer of the Nawab of Oude was accepted by Warren Hastings, but it was not till November that the former was prepared to carry out the plans he had arranged with Hastings for the reduction of the Rohillas.

In January, 1774, Colonel Champion received orders to advance with a Brigade, including the 2nd Bengal European Regiment. On February 24th the force arrived within the Oude territories, and on April 17th crossed the border into Rohilcund.

On arriving at Gurrah on the 23rd, Champion found that he would not obtain any support from the Nawab's troops, and attacked without them.

The following is Colonel Champion's description of the engagement,  
**Battle of** fought on April 23rd, as described in his letter of the 24th to  
**Kutra.** Warren Hastings :—

"Hafiz and his Army, consisting of about 40,000 men, showed great bravery and resolution, annoying us with their artillery and rockets. They made repeated attempts to charge, but our guns, being much better served than theirs, kept so constant and galling a fire that they could not advance, and where they were closest was the greatest slaughter. They gave proof of a good share of military knowledge, by showing inclinations to force both our flanks at the same time, and endeavouring to call off our attentions by a brisk fire on our centre. It is impossible to describe a more obstinate firmness of resolution than the enemy displayed. Numerous were their gallant men who advanced and often pitched their colours between both Armies in order to encourage their men to follow them ; and it was not until they saw our whole Army advancing briskly to charge them after a severe cannonade of two hours and twenty minutes and a smart fire of musketry for some minutes on both flanks that they fairly turned their backs. Of the enemy above 2,000 fell in the field, and amongst them many Sirdars. But what renders the victory most decisive is the death of Hafiz Rahmat, who was killed whilst bravely rallying his people to battle. One of his sons was also killed, one taken prisoner, and a third returned from flight to-day and is in the hands of Surajah Dowlah."\*

From May till August the Nawab was negotiating for the surrender of the various Rohilla chiefs ; his terms were finally accepted, and the first Rohilla War came to an end.

An incident illustrating the customs of the Army in India at this period may here be noticed. On April 15th William Dibbens and Mathew Stevens, of the Regiment, had been sentenced to death by court-martial. The preparations for the execution completed, the prisoners were informed that they were to cast lots on the drumhead with dice, "and that he upon whom the favourable lot fell would be remanded back to his quarters, and the punishment remitted, but that the other would be executed on the spot." Dibbens threw the higher number, and Stevens was immediately shot.

At this time it may be noted that the annual allowance of ammunition for practice for each battalion was 100 barrels of gunpowder of 60 pounds each, 250 pounds of lead, 2 reams of paper, and 4 skeins of twine. The months set aside were February, April, September and December, and sixteen days were allocated for "blank ammunition," and eight for "ball cartridge." Later, in 1816, the former was made up in blue paper and the latter in brown paper. In 1775 it was laid down that no ensign should receive his commission before he had served four months as a cadet and gone through the duties of a "private centinel" ; when on duty they wore the same dress as a private ; when off

\* Serjeant Burrell greatly distinguished himself in this action (see Appendix "E," p. 215).

duty they were allowed to wear a plain scarlet coat with lapel and white metal buttons.

The difficulties which Colonel Champion had to contend with are feelingly set forth in his correspondence with the Governor-General, and all credit is due for the masterly moderation displayed by him in the discharge of duties which, if mismanaged, would have been as ruinous to his military reputation, as they were averse to his feelings as an officer. His services had been entirely with the Regiment, of which he had been Adjutant for many years, and few men have done more to maintain the honour of the Regiment.

Early in 1775 Surajah Dowlah, the Nawab of Oude, died and was succeeded by his son, Asoff Dowlah. Fresh treaties were arranged with him, and amongst other things he was compelled to transfer the district of Benares to the Company, in spite of the fact that the Raja, Chete Sing, by no means approved of the transfer.

In August, 1778, two European battalions of artillery were ordered to be raised, the gunners to be selected by lot from the Regiment; at the same time the grenadier companies were reduced to half their strength, the light companies being increased in proportion.

In 1778 the Government of Bengal was again sorely pressed for money, owing to a costly war in the Carnatic and the sending of large remittances to England. They demanded an additional lump sum of £50,000 from the Raja: this was repeated in 1779, and again in 1780, when the Raja pleaded poverty. Hastings, in addition, ordered him to keep a body of cavalry for the service of the British, and soon after visited him at Benares in August; and, in spite of the Raja swearing submission and fidelity, had him arrested and confined in his own capital. This was too much for the Raja's subjects, who revolted, and in the confusion the Raja escaped and issued orders for his troops to assemble, but he was too frightened to attempt to make the Governor-General prisoner.

Hastings, calm and collected, got messages conveyed to Chunar for relief to be sent him immediately. Major Popham started in command of a detachment, including the two flank companies of the 2nd Bengal European Regiment; he duly relieved the Governor-General, who proceeded to Chunar.

On August 17th a part of the Governor-General's escort crossed the Ganges, and were nearly all killed by the rebels; this defeat was magnified into the defeat of the British Army, and the whole country rose against the British.

Whatever the faults of Hastings, he was beloved by the army, and specially so by the men of the Regiment, who remembered that he had served in their ranks, and shared with them the dangers and triumphs of their early wars; and the Regiment volunteered to a man to avenge the insult passed on their Governor-General and friend.

In September Captain Hill was sent in advance against the Raja's undisciplined forces. He routed them first at Patuta, and again at Suttufpore, the Raja escaping towards the fort of Bridgeghur. The British troops, under Major Popham, quickly followed and laid siege to the Fort ; the garrison surrendered after fourteen days, but the Raja had previously fled.

**Action at  
Patuta.**

**Capture of  
Bridge-ghur.**

On September 26th, 1779, the three regiments of Bengal Europeans formed on August 5th, 1765, were reduced to two battalions each, the total strength of European infantry in Bengal being at this time about 3,000.

In September, 1780, a vessel arrived at Calcutta with despatches from the Governor of Madras asking that military help might be sent at once, as the whole Presidency was at the mercy of Hyder Ali of Mysore : Warren Hastings strained every nerve to supply the troops ; the European battalion selected for this service was the 2nd Battalion of the 1st Bengal European Regiment.

The Governor-General appointed General Sir Eyre Coote to the independent command of all military operations. The General, with 350 of the Regiment, landed in Madras on November 5th, and they were posted to the 1st or Right Division, under Major-General Sir Hector Munro.

It was not till the middle of January, 1781, that the army left Madras.

**Capture of  
Karumgalli.**

**Relief of  
Wandiwash.**

On the 21st Karumgalli was taken by storm ; the next day the siege of Wandiwash was raised, and Coote hastened in a southern direction towards Pondicherry, and remained in that neighbourhood for several months almost inactive.

Hyder Ali, who had entered into an alliance with the French, on hearing of the arrival of the French squadron under Count d'Ornes, at once decided to separate Coote from his base, and made a feint towards Cuddalore ; Coote fell into the trap, and moved his troops farther south, thus leaving the strong position near Chelambram open. This was seized by Hyder Ali, and Coote was severed from his base ; but, luckily for him, the French Admiral determined to act independently and, refusing to land any of his troops, weighed anchor, leaving the coast clear, and supplies were at once sent by sea from Madras.

**Assault of  
Chelambram.**

Coote was still unable to attack, and it was not till June 16th that he crossed the River Vellore, and on the 19th assaulted a strongly fortified store and magazine at Chelambram, but was repulsed after carrying away a large quantity of grain, the losses being 260 killed and wounded ; he then recrossed the River Vellore and encamped close to the village of Porto Novo, on the sea coast.

On July 1st Coote moved nearer to Hyder Ali's position, which completely barred the Cuddalore road : the British force consisted of 2,070 Europeans and 6,400 sepoy, with 55 field pieces. Hyder Ali had 25 battalions of infantry, 40,000 horse, 400 Frenchmen, 47 guns, and about 100,000 matchlock men, etc.

The roll of Officers serving with the Regiment at this time is shown in Appendix "T," p. 230, *et seq.*



The British were drawn up in two lines : the first, commanded by Sir Hector Munro, consisted of His Majesty's 73rd (later the 71st),  
**Battle of Porto Novo.** 2nd Battalion of the Regiment, and the Madras European Regiment, one troop of European cavalry, five regiments of sepoy, and thirty guns ; the second line, under Brigadier James Stuart, consisted of four battalions of sepoy and twenty-six guns. After carefully reconnoitring the enemy's position, it was decided that the enemy's left should be attacked, and General Stuart with the Second Division was ordered to seize the road by the sandhills and turn the enemy's left flank, being helped by the guns of the ships under Admiral Hughes.

The First Division would at the same time employ the enemy in front. Coote had judged correctly, Hyder Ali, considering that the sandhills and sea would protect his left, had strengthened his front and right.

About ten o'clock Coote advanced, and was repeatedly charged by the enemy's cavalry, as well as being attacked by the infantry and shelled by the artillery. By midday news was received that the Second Division, though twice thrown back, had succeeded at their third attempt. Coote at once pushed the First Division forward ; the Second Division, with the help of the naval guns, had now completed the rout of the left wing of Hyder Ali's army. The First Division, following up its first advance, captured the enemy's entrenchments ; before midnight the two divisions had united, and the enemy were in full flight. The pursuit was continued till two o'clock next morning ; the enemy's camp, stores, and equipage were captured, but they saved their artillery and standards.

The Battle of Porto Novo was another of the decisive battles in India, as it decided the fate of Madras, and gave the death blow to the projects of Hyder Ali. He was never again the aggressor, and contented himself by retaining the positions he had already gained.

The British loss was about 380 killed and wounded, of whom 17 were officers, and 50 European rank and file ; the estimate of the enemy's loss being 3,000 killed and 6,000 wounded.

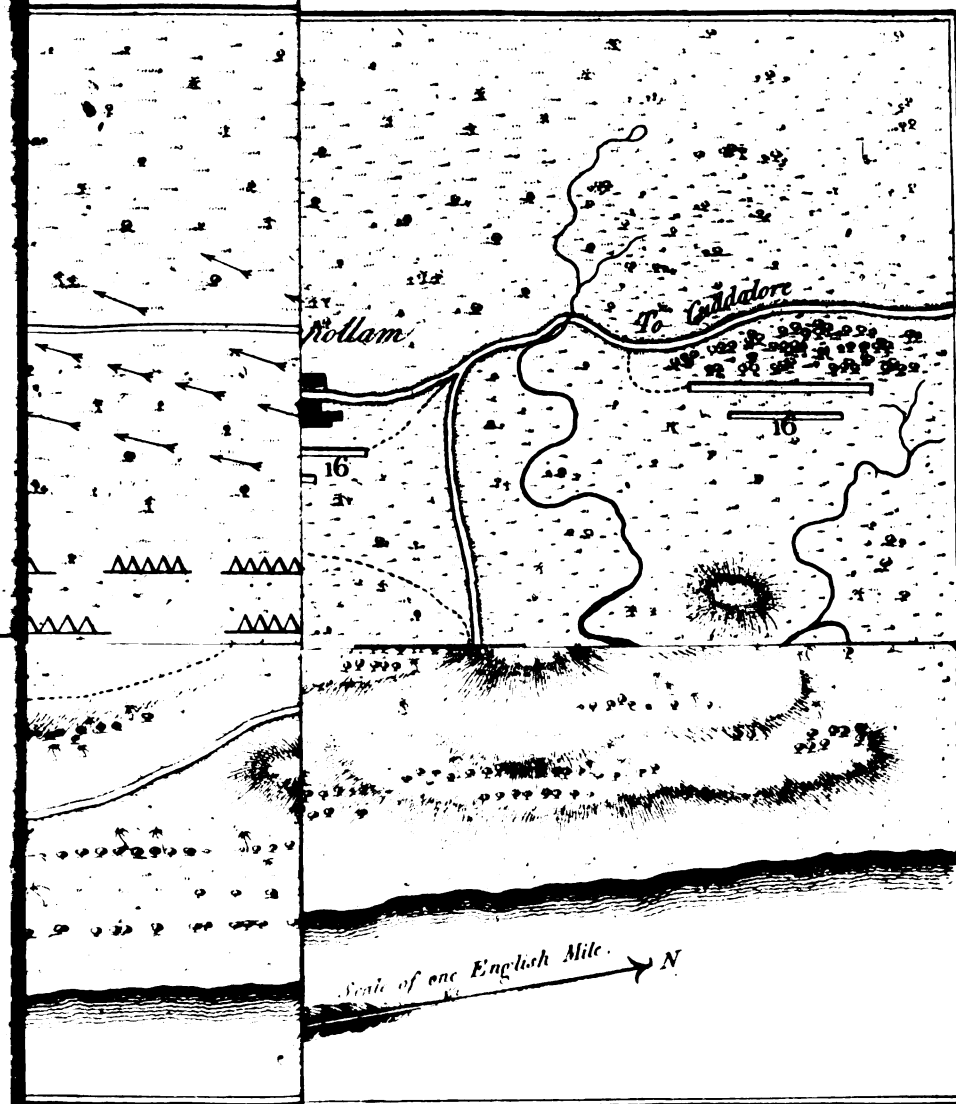
On July 4th Sir Eyre Coote moved his forces north-east to the relief of Wandiwash, which was again besieged by Hyder Ali's forces  
**Second Relief of Wandiwash.** under his son, Tippoo Sahib, who, however, retired on the 20th on the approach of the British. Coote's next move was to Punamalli, where he prepared to attack the strong fortress of Tripassore, thirty miles west of Madras. He encamped before the fortress on August 19th, erected batteries, and a practicable breach having been made by the 22nd, orders were given to storm, but the garrison surrendered at discretion.

Coote again advanced against the main force of the enemy, and on the morning of the 27th, finding them drawn up in front of their encampment at Pollilore, sent forward the First Division under  
**Battle of Pollilore.** Munro, which included the 2nd Battalion under Major

B A T

*G. Sir Eyedier Alby Cann the 1<sup>st</sup> July 1781.*  
*English had 60 Secs.*

Map N<sup>o</sup> 8.



Woodman & Mather sculp.

*Position of Regiment marked in Red*

*our March to Cuddalore Cannonade. 7. 2<sup>nd</sup> English Line during the Can-*  
*as a decoy to the Ma, over whom his Guns fired from the sand banks*  
*12. Attempt by Hyderick, & most of y<sup>e</sup> party were killed. - > Retreat*  
*5. An Armed Ship fir*



MacGowan. The Second Division, under General Stuart, was formed at right angles to the leading division.

Munro charged the batteries in front, but a heavy fire on both flanks forced Coote to bring up the whole of his right, and form line on the leading division. The ground broken by watercourses, paddy fields, etc., rendered an advance in line extremely difficult, but as the British approached the enemy withdrew, carrying off their guns and equipage, and during the night they fell back still farther. The British loss was 53 Europeans killed or wounded (including General Stuart who lost a leg), and 312 sepoy killed or wounded. A camp was formed to provide cover during the remainder of the monsoon.

On September 27th, the British Army, moving towards Vellore, in reply to an urgent appeal for assistance from Colonel Lang, found **Battle of Sholinghur.** Hyder Ali barring the road at the Pass of Sholinghur. A brisk cannonade began on both sides ; the right of the British line\* crept round a large tank unobserved and suddenly fell on the camp and left flank of the enemy, the rest of the army at the same time advancing, supported by the guns, obliged Hyder Ali to withdraw. As a last resource he hurled a large body of cavalry on the left, but our troops reserved their fire until the cavalry were within fifty yards of them, and then poured in such a volley that the enemy broke and fled. Again Hyder managed to retire with his guns. The British losses were only about 100 killed and wounded.

The British Army now continued its advance to the relief of Vellore, where the garrison was beleaguered and short of provisions.

Coote personally led a flying brigade, with the grenadier company of the 2nd Battalion, under Captain Moore and four other officers, five battalions of sepoy, three guns, and a squadron of cavalry, to collect supplies for the relief of Vellore ; and after a rapid march of eighty miles he surprised a large detachment of the enemy's army, capturing their camp, provisions, and baggage.

On October 23rd the brigade encamped near the Pass of Veracundalore, **Battle of Veracundalore.** where it was unexpectedly attacked in the early morning by Hyder Ali's regular infantry, best cavalry, and light guns, under his personal command. The brigade, unable to hold its ground in the face of so powerful an army, was forced to retreat, and whilst entering the Pass one of the British guns was taken by a strong body of the enemy's horse from a battalion of sepoy under Captain Walker. " The flank companies of the Bengal European Regiment under Captain Moore, at this critical moment wheeled back to enable the flying sepoy to pass to the rear, and after pouring in a volley on the enemy, who were dragging off the captured gun in triumph, rushed forward, recovered the gun, and drove the Mysorean Horse and Foot back at the point of the bayonet with great slaughter. In the meantime, Walker's battalion had rallied in the rear, and advancing boldly to the support of the Europeans, the entry to the Pass was kept."†

\* Including the Battalion. † Historic Records, " Madras European Regiment."

During this action the English detachment lost 317 men, but the enemy admitted a loss of upwards of 3,000.

The following Order was issued by Sir Eyre Coote immediately after the affair :—" The brave and seasonable exertion of the Company of Bengal Grenadiers, under the command of Captain Moore is worthy of the highest applause and should be ever held in remembrance as a proof of the merit of that company in particular, and honourable to the corps they belong to."

On November 3rd, Coote advanced to the relief of Vellore, and the enemy having retired across the river, the city was entered and relieved. The following day Coote commenced his march towards Madras, the advance guard, composed of the grenadiers of His Majesty's 73rd, the Battalion, and Madras Europeans encountered the enemy and dispersed them, inflicting considerable loss.

**Relief of  
Vellore.**

In March, a French fleet arrived off Pondicherry with 3,000 French troops. These disembarked at Porto Novo, marched and joined Hyder Ali's forces covering Pondicherry. Sir Eyre Coote thereupon made a rapid advance towards the fortress of Arnee, arriving there on June 1st. On the following day Hyder Ali's whole army suddenly appeared after a forced march of forty-three miles, and a battle ensued, during which the grenadiers of the 73rd, the Battalion, and Madras Europeans engaged Lally's French Corps, capturing one gun and several tumbrils; the enemy was repulsed with serious loss.

**Battle of  
Arnee.**

The war against Hyder Ali now continued with varying success, the country was utterly devastated, all crops destroyed, and villages burnt, thousands of natives dying of starvation.

On July 1st, Sir Eyre Coote moved to Wandiwash, where he negotiated with Hyder Ali, but nothing came of the meeting, and the British Army retired to Madras. Sir Eyre Coote was forced, by ill-health, to hand over command of the army for the time to Brigadier-General James Stuart, and proceed to Bengal.

Hyder Ali\* died on December 7th, and was succeeded by his son Tippoo Sahib.

On April 21st, 1783, Stuart commenced his march towards Cuddalore. The return of Coote from Bengal to resume command had been expected, and he arrived at Madras on the 24th, but his health had been so utterly ruined that he rapidly sank and died within three days of his landing. On June 7th, Stuart took up a strong position at Cuddalore, his right resting on the sea, and his left on the Bandipollam Hills to the westward. A few days after the French, under the Marquis de Bussy, took up a position to the south, facing the British. The French army consisted of 3,000 European infantry, and 3,500 sepoys, with 2,000 cavalry and 3,000 of Tippoo's army; the British had 1,660 Europeans, 8,340 sepoys, and 1,000 native cavalry.

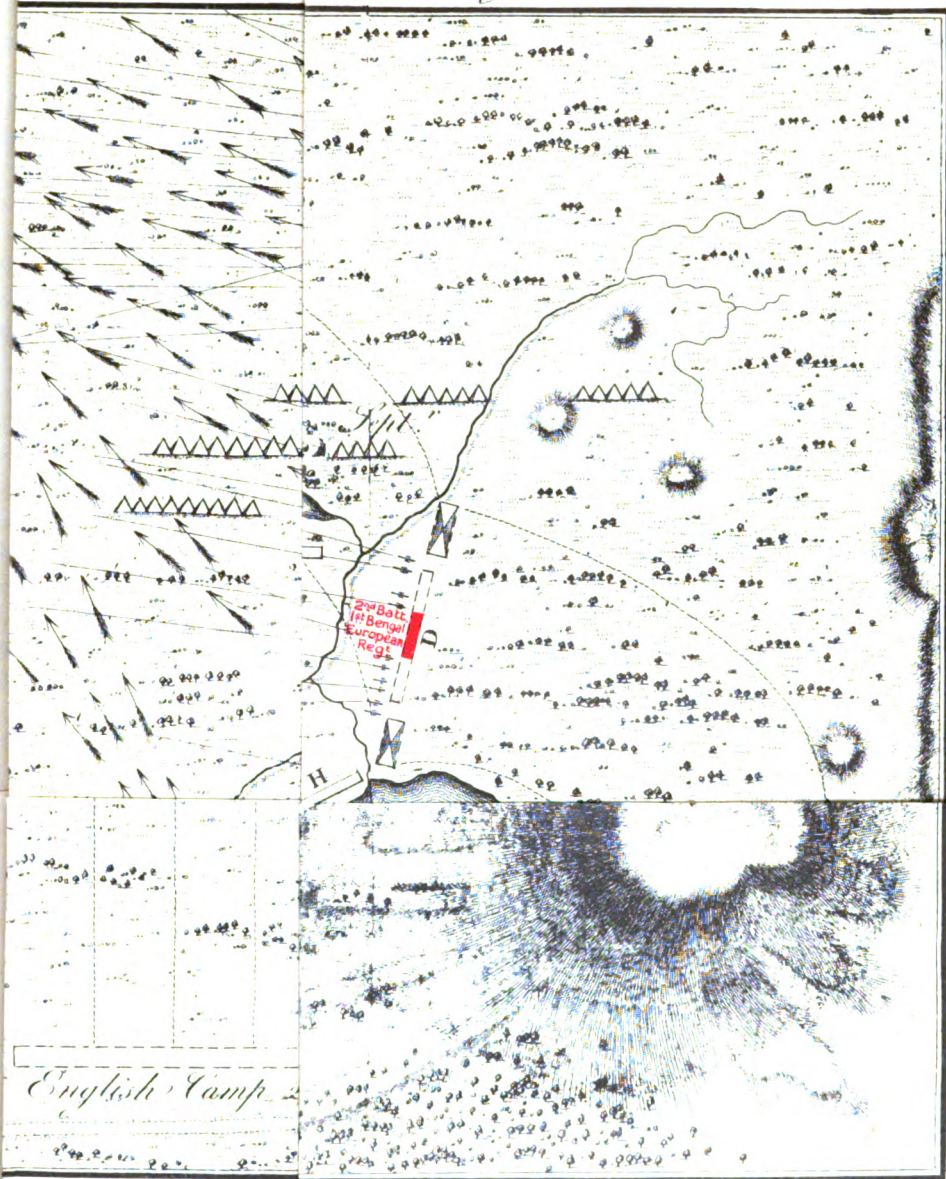
**Siege of  
Cuddalore.**

\* See Appendix "F," p. 216

BA

Map No 9

*Lt Col Sir Hyder Ally Cann on 27<sup>th</sup> Sept. 1781.*



*Woodman & Mathew copy*

*K*

*Position of Regiment shown in Red.*

*3. March of the Army advance for Action. DDD. Second position of the Line advance  
 left Flank & obliging line. FFF. Fourth & last position of the Line after  
 Enemy's Cavalry GGG. Rocks, & Old Houses, HHH. Advanced Corps of the  
 s. Charging the Line En set Cannonaded by the 2<sup>nd</sup> Brigade K.*



On June 13th, the assault on the enemy's position was delivered ; a hill on the left flank, heavily fortified by the French, being the advanced party's\* first objective. If this was successful Colonel (afterwards Lord) Cathcart with a battalion formed of the grenadier companies of His Majesty's 73rd (later the 71st), 72nd, 101st,† Hanoverian Corps, the Battalion, and Madras European battalion, was to advance and carry the grand battery held by the French. The advanced party succeeded, but when the grenadier battalion advanced the ditch was found to be full of water and strongly stockaded ; it was impossible to carry the battery and the battalion was repulsed with heavy loss.

General Stuart now ordered them to attempt to turn the enemy's flank by getting to the rear of the French entrenchments, but the whole ground being under water, they, after wading some hours through the mud, were ultimately driven back under a severe artillery fire.

Maddened with their repeated failures the grenadiers, having been joined by the line battalions, made a desperate charge, gained the enemy's ramparts, and swept along the entire front ; but the British troops, unable to hold all the ground which they had captured, were forced back on the French grand battery, which they retained, this battery commanding the whole range of the French works. The battle had now lasted all day, and towards evening both sides lay on their arms, prepared to renew the fight on the next morning. The enemy, however, retired during the night, seeking the protection of the walls of Cuddalore, leaving behind them 17 guns and 50 prisoners. The loss during the day was 1,030 men, almost every officer of the leading division being either killed or wounded ; and it is estimated that the French loss was fully equal to that of the British.

During the night of June 25th the French, heavily reinforced from the Fleet, made a determined sortie, their whole force advancing on the trenches, but they were repulsed with heavy loss. Amongst the prisoners taken on this occasion was a young French serjeant named Bernadotte,‡ who afterwards became a marshal of France, and King of Sweden, where his descendants still reign.

Provisions were scarce, there was no food for the cattle, and everything wore a gloomy aspect when on the 28th, to everyone's joy, a flag of truce was raised by the enemy, who announced a French ship had just arrived with the news that peace between Great Britain and France had been concluded. Thus the war against the French was at an end, and hostilities ceased on July 2nd. The war against Tippoo Sahib languished ; ultimately he sued for peace, which was granted.

In 1784 the 2nd Battalion of the 1st Bengal European Regiment returned to its own Presidency, having left more than half its officers in graves on

\* Under Colonel Kelly including the Battalion.

† This 101st Regiment (Sandford's) was the second of the British Regiments of Foot to carry this number. It was raised in 1780, and with other Indian reinforcements was in the naval action in Porto Praya Bay, and arrived with them at Madras at the end of October, 1782. It was afterwards employed against Hyder Ali, and was broken up after the Peace of March, 1784. In 1861 the 1st European Bengal Fusiliers, the successors of the Bengal European Battalion mentioned above, became by Royal Decree the 101st Regiment of Foot (Royal Bengal Fusiliers).

‡ See Appendix "G," p. 217.



the many battlefields where it had been engaged during the four years it had served in the Carnatic War.

The Battalion on its return to Bengal was quartered at Ghyretty, where on January 25th, 1785, it was inspected by the Governor-General, Warren Hastings, who spoke feelingly of the "small remains" returned from the war, and he expressed his mixed sentiments of gratitude for their valuable services, and regret for their heavy losses. In a General Order of that date he affirms that to "the aid rendered by the Bengal troops, the Company's possessions and interests under the Presidency of Fort St. George owe their present existence."

Gold, silver, and bronze medals were granted to all the officers and men who served during the Carnatic War, and the pay of all non-commissioned officers and men was, as a special mark of appreciation of their services, raised permanently two rupees a day.

About the end of 1787, on account of more European troops being required for service in India, four regiments were raised for that purpose, viz. : the 74th, 75th, 76th, 77th. The King granted commissions therein to a certain number of officers in the Company's service, viz. : 1 Lieut.-Colonel, 3 Majors, 14 Captains, 44 Lieutenants, and 16 Ensigns, the number allotted to each Presidency being in proportion to the number of officers already serving in each.

The death of the Nawab of Rohilcund, Fyzulla Khan, in 1793, caused disturbances, as several of his children claimed to succeed him. The King of Oude, under his treaty with the British, called for their co-operation and help in order to maintain his suzerainty. Sir Robert Abercrombie, K.C.B., in command of the Bengal Army, happened to be near at hand on his tour of inspection, and hastily collecting a force of about 10,000 men, including the 2nd Bengal European Regiment, under Major John Macdonald,\* he entered the Rampore district and proceeded towards Bareilly. The various claimants at once made common cause together, and on October 26th the rival armies met near the village of Betoora, on the plains of Rohilcund, not far from Kutra, where the celebrated battle against the Rohillas had been fought on April 23rd, St. George's Day, 1774, when the 2nd Bengal European Regiment was engaged.

**Battle of  
Betoora.**

General Abercrombie formed his forces into one line, but they were, however, outflanked by the enemy who threatened the Regiment which was on the right of the line with a sepoy battalion on either flank.

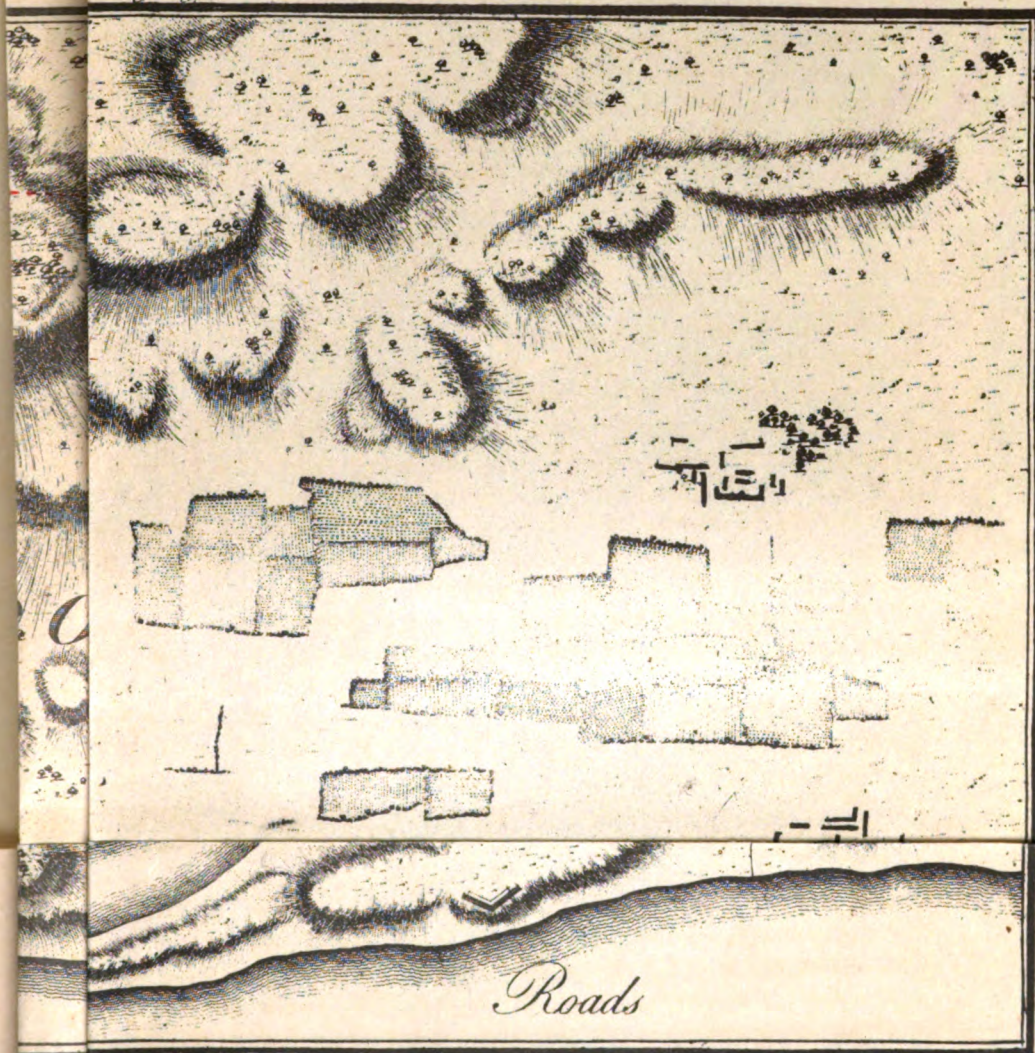
The engagement opened with a heavy bombardment from both armies ; the enemy's cavalry, in overpowering numbers, threatened the cavalry brigade which had been placed on the right of the infantry, and owing to some misunderstanding, never explained, the cavalry were given the order "Wheel inwards by quarter ranks." This created the utmost confusion, and the enemy's cavalry charging at the same time caused the British cavalry to break headlong through the sepoy battalion on the right of the Regiment, and pour down upon it.

The officers commanding the infantry regiments had no choice other than to protect their men, and were compelled to treat the cavalry as enemies

\* Afterwards Lieut.-General Sir John Macdonald, K.C.B.

*of B. Busby on the 13<sup>th</sup> June, 1783.*

Map N<sup>o</sup> 10.



*Woodman & Mutton sculp.*

*Position of Regiment shown in Red.*

*Attack in the Morning of the 13<sup>th</sup>, & his Attack of the French Battery D, upon a Hill.*

*12 Brigade after dispersing Tippu's Troops. K. Rout & first position of the Grenadiers*

*ston Kelly's Brigade. O. First Parallel of the British. P. Sally by the Enemy on the 25<sup>th</sup>*

*orted*



and defend themselves against this unlooked-for charge. At the same time the enemy's cavalry became intermixed with the British, and still greater confusion ensued. The cavalry, British as well as Rohilla, were ultimately beaten off, but not until a great number of the officers and men of the Regiment, as well as of the native battalions, had been killed or wounded.

In the meantime, seeing the confusion which this contretemps had occasioned, the enemy made a most gallant and daring attack; "it is utterly impossible it could have been surpassed."

Gulan Mohammed, the enemy's leader, had formed his regiments into a succession of massive wedges, about fifty deep, and thus they moved forwards until they were within 500 yards of the British, when they spread out, vastly outflanking the British line.

The enemy appeared to despise the musketry fire, but upon every discharge of artillery they threw themselves forward on their faces, rising immediately afterwards and continuing their advance until they neared the British line, when they made a desperate rush, so that all the troops were completely intermingled. The Rohillas were armed with spears, matchlocks, and tulwars, the last of which they used so effectually that for many years afterwards the attack of the enemy on this occasion was talked of as "The Highland Charge." It now became a hand-to-hand fight—the bayonet *versus* the tulwar—the Rohillas were experienced swordsmen and the British were taken at a disadvantage, as they had not recovered from the unexpected charge of their own cavalry. At length, however, the bayonet prevailed, the Rohillas gradually gave ground and ultimately took to flight, when they were pursued by the British and driven across the Dugura River.

Thus ended the Battle of Betoora; but the enemy, having displayed marked bravery, felt the superiority of disciplined armies and sued for peace.

The loss on both sides was very great. Lieutenants Jollie and Robertson, of the Regiment, were both severely wounded. A large monument on the right of the road from Rampore to Bareilly marks where the action of Betoora was fought, recording the names of fourteen British officers who fell there.

This monument is a large obelisk of red sandstone slabs; it stands in a small but shady enclosure, which is entered by a Roman archway. At its base on the side facing the road is engraved the following inscription:—

ERECTED  
BY THE ORDER OF THE GOVERNOR-GENERAL IN COUNCIL  
IN MEMORY OF  
COLONEL GEORGE BURRINGTON

MAJOR THOMAS BOLTON	CAPT. NORMAN MACLEOD
CAPT. JOHN MAMBEY	" JOHN MORDAUNT
LT. ANDREW CUMMINGS	LT. EDMUND WELLS
" JOHN PLUMER	" JOSEPH RICHARDSON
" WM. HINKSMAN	" Y. Q. M. BIRCH
" WM. ODELL	" EDWARD BAKER

LT.-FIREWORKER JAMES TALFER  
AND THE EUROPEAN AND NATIVE NON-COMMISSIONED OFFICERS AND PRIVATES  
WHO FELL, NEAR THIS SPOT, IN ACTION AGAINST THE ROHILLAS,  
OCTOBER 26TH, A.D. 1794.



In 1797 the 1st Bengal European Regiment, stationed at Cawnpore, formed part of the force under Sir John Shore which dethroned Vazir Ali, and placed Sydaat Ali on the throne of Oude.

In 1797 it became the custom to call all regiments after their commanding officer.

The 1st Bengal European Regiment was at this time commanded by Lieut.-Colonel Edward Clarke, and was therefore called "Clarke's Regiment," or "Clark Ka Gora," under which name it was entered in the Army List and known by the natives whilst the rule of the East India Company lasted.

In 1798 the Regiment again took the field under Sir J. Craig against Zeeman Shah, who had threatened an invasion of the provinces from Lahore.

In 1798 the non-commissioned officers and men of the 3rd European Regiment were drafted into the 1st and 2nd, which were each made up to the following strength :—1 colonel, 2 lieutenant-colonels, 2 majors, 7 captains, 1 captain-lieutenant, 25 lieutenants, 10 ensigns, 48 serjeants, 60 corporals, 26 drums and fifes, 1,140 privates.

In 1801 the flank companies of the Regiment joined the Marquess of Wellesley's guard during his residence at Patna ; and a guard of thirty men, under Lieutenant J. D. Broughton formed part of his Lordship's personal escort through the remainder of his tour.

In 1802 the 2nd European Regiment was reduced, its officers being transferred, by G.O.G.G., May 6th, 1802, to the newly-formed " Marine Regiment " (numbered 20th Regiment of Native Infantry), and its non-commissioned officers and men were incorporated with the 1st European Regiment or the artillery ; thus, in 1803, the Bengal European Regiment returned to its original formation and name.

The roll of Officers serving with the Regiment in 1796 and 1802 is shown in Appendix " T," pp. 232, 233.



OFFICER'S CROSS-BELT PLATE  
ABOUT 1830.

## CHAPTER V

**BATTLE OF DEIG—FIRST SIEGE OF BHURTPORE—EXPEDITION TO MACAO—OPERATIONS IN JAVA, ETC.—PINDARI WAR—SECOND SIEGE AND CAPTURE OF BHURTPORE—AFGHAN CAMPAIGN—CAPTURE OF GHUZZEE.**

*Reference Maps Nos. 11, 12, 13, 14. Pages 88, 92, 106, 110.*

EARLY in 1803 the Marquess of Wellesley, Governor-General, determined on destroying the power of the French and their allies, the Mahrattas, in Central India : General Lake, the Commander-in-Chief, advanced at the head of a powerful army, and on August 29th entered the Mahratta Territory, reducing the strong fortress of Aligarh on September 4th, and then pushed on to Delhi, which he reached on the 9th, and on the 11th fought the celebrated Battle of Delhi, ending in the complete defeat of the French and Mahratta armies, who suffered heavy loss ; on the 13th the British Army marched into the city, releasing the blind Emperor, Shah Alum, from his prison, and placing him on the throne of his ancestors.

General Lake proceeded in pursuit of Holkar's army ; Agra, the key of Hindustan, was reduced on October 18th, 176 guns and a vast amount of treasure being captured. The Battle of Laswarie was fought and won on November 1st ; the Mahratta army was utterly routed, with the loss of its guns, camp, and treasure.

On November 8th General Lake returned to Agra, and on the 30th the following reinforcement joined headquarters—the flank companies of the Regiment under Captain Thomas Waguelen, and the flank companies of the other British regiments—the whole being formed into what was known as “ The Flank Battalion ” and placed under command of Major McLeod.

The Flank Battalion formed part of a column under Colonel H. White,\* sent by the Commander-in-Chief on December 21st to reduce the Fortress of Gwalior, defended by a powerful Mahratta army.

Colonel White decided to make a night assault on the town before securing the Fortress above, and on the night of February 3rd the walls were scaled and a firm hold of the town obtained ; he then erected breaching batteries within the town, and a practicable breach in the upper fortifications was effected ; but before the main assault was made the Fortress surrendered, and was occupied by the troops on February 4th.

The result of this action was that the whole of the other forts in the province surrendered and the Mahratta army retreated from every part of the conquered provinces.

\* Colonel H. White had commanded the 2nd Battalion of the Regiment in 1801.

The following copy of a General Order, issued on February 10th, will prove how fully the Commander-in-Chief appreciated these important services :—" The Commander-in-Chief has great satisfaction in publishing his high sense of the distinguished services of the detachment employed in the reduction of the Fortress of Gwalior, under Colonel White. The vigour and judgment displayed by Lieut.-Colonel White throughout the whole of this arduous and important service claims his Excellency's best thanks and warmest approbation. The Commander-in-Chief derives great pleasure from Lieut.-Colonel White's report of the spirited and meritorious conduct of Major McLeod and the whole of the officers and men under his command. His Excellency desires Colonel White to signify to Major McLeod and officers and men of the European Flank Companies his Excellency's cordial thanks and approbation of the spirit and zeal which they manifested on the occasion, and of the cheerfulness and alacrity with which they submitted to severe labour and fatigue."

During the early months of 1804 several actions were fought by the British troops against Holkar and his allies.

In October a field force, consisting of His Majesty's 76th Regiment, the Regiment—under Lieut.-Colonel Burnet—together with six battalions of *sepoys*\* and some irregular horse, under command of Major-General Fraser, marched to subdue the strong Fortress of Deig, defended by Holkar's powerful army.

On November 12th Major-General Fraser's force encamped at the village of Goverdun, about a mile and a half from the Fortress of Deig, and separated from it by a deep, unfordable morass.

Early on the morning of the 13th it was seen that the enemy in strong force was preparing for action, having selected a position **Battle of Deig.** between the morass, *D*, and a large deep artificial tank, *E*.

The enemy's cavalry was drawn up in two large compact divisions to the south of the tank, evidently intending to take the British in flank and rear should an attempt be made to advance round the morass. General Fraser now pushed forward his irregular horse, with four light guns, to watch and keep in check the enemy's cavalry, whilst he brought his infantry round the southern end of the morass, *D*, and, emerging on the plain to the south of the Fort, he found himself confronted by large masses of the enemy's artillery and infantry, opposing his advance.

Behind and under cover of a village, *G*, Fraser placed his infantry in two lines, one immediately in rear of the other, His Majesty's 76th occupying the centre of the first line, with a sepoy battalion on each flank, and the Regiment the centre of the second line, also supported by a sepoy battalion in the same manner.

\* Amongst these battalions was the 15th, then under the command of Major L. Burrell (afterwards Major-General), who had enlisted in the Regiment in 1770, and greatly distinguished himself at the Battle of Kutra, April 23rd, 1774. He received his commission as Ensign in October, 1779.



- 1.—Major-General SIR EYRE COOTE. Commanding British Forces, 1783.
- 2.—Lieutenant-General SIR J. MACDONALD. Commanded 2nd Battalion as a Major at the Battle of Boetura, 1794.
- 3.—General LORD LAKE. Commanding the Forces at Bhurtpore, 1805.
- 4.—General SIR ABRAHAM ROBERTS, G.C.B. Lieut.-Colonel in Regiment 1831. Colonel 1843. Father of Field-Marshal Earl Roberts, V.C., K.G., etc.
- 5.—Marshal BERNADOTTE, the Regiment's most distinguished prisoner. Taken as a serjeant, 1783.





The enemy commenced the action with a heavy artillery bombardment, and it was now found that the village, *G*, in front of the British infantry was strongly held by the enemy, whose infantry, concealed amongst the loopholed houses, were causing much annoyance. The 76th, with the sepoy battalions in the front line, advanced, and soon succeeded in driving the enemy from their cover on to their main army on the plain beyond. The Regiment, having joined the 76th, made a gallant charge on the enemy's artillery, which had been supporting their infantry in the village, and was at this time pouring its grapeshot and shell on the advancing troops. They captured the guns and drove the supporting infantry back on their second line.

To the right at the head of the morass, *D*, and under cover of a mound, *H*, a large body of the enemy troops had taken their position, intending to attack the right flank, whilst their cavalry at the head of the tank would attack the left. Two sepoy battalions, the 2nd and 2/15th, with four guns, were sent to keep the enemy occupying the head of the morass in check, whilst the main attack was carried out.

General Fraser now advanced, and, re-forming his infantry, headed a charge on the enemy's second line of guns and infantry ; but the troops had only advanced a few paces when he was struck by a round shot which carried off his right leg. The army was thus at this critical moment deprived of the example and skill of this distinguished General, in whom his soldiers placed such well-deserved confidence.\* Colonel Monson now assumed command of the army, and, knowing Fraser's plans, was well fitted to carry them out.

The second line of the enemy's guns was also captured after a severe fight, their infantry being driven from one position after another for a distance of nearly two miles till they reached the walls of the Fortress, behind which they took refuge.

The British infantry now having no enemy within touch, and being severely shelled by the heavy guns on the walls of the Fortress, retired to support the sepoy battalions employed in keeping the enemy in check at the head of the morass, *D*, and support was sorely needed ; for it was seen that a squadron of the enemy's horse, having escaped the vigilance of the British irregular cavalry, had recaptured the first line of the enemy's guns taken by the 76th and the Regiment during their advance from the village, *G*.

The British regiments, however, took the guns a second time, driving the cavalry back towards their base, and resumed their march towards the sepoy battalions at the head of the morass, who had gallantly maintained their position.

On the arrival of the British reinforcements, the sepoys, hard pressed by the enemy, re-formed, capturing the mound, *H*, and drove the enemy into the morass, *D*, so disorganized that his guns were abandoned and secured by the victorious troops. Great numbers of the enemy, including two of the

\* General Fraser survived only a few days, dying in the British camp before Deig.

leading generals of Holkar's army, perished in the morass, the remnant seeking cover in the Fortress.

The third brigade, which had been left in camp to protect the equipage and baggage, seeing that the enemy were retiring within the walls of their Fortress, had marched round the morass and joined the troops in the field. The irregular cavalry also, having been relieved from their duty of keeping the enemy's cavalry in check, joined the infantry, assisting them in clearing the field and villages of stragglers, and collecting the captured guns, which were sent under escort to the camp. The army now bivouacked on the field of battle, strong picquets being placed on the several mounds on the plain to the south of the Fortress.

Although the Battle of Deig lasted but a few hours, the loss of the enemy is stated to have been 2,000 killed, including those drowned in the morass. Eighty-seven guns were captured by the British, as well as a large amount of ammunition found in tumbrils abandoned on the field.

Considering the smallness of the British force, the European losses were great. Six officers, including General Fraser, were killed or died of wounds, and 17 were wounded; 63 European men were killed and 181 wounded. Amongst the wounded were the following officers of the Regiment: Lieutenants A. Maxton, J. Chatfield, T. Bryant, severely; and T. Merriman, slightly, the losses of the men being 22 killed and 52 wounded.

In giving an account of the Battle of Deig, Thorn, in his "Memoir of Lord Lake's Campaigns in India," remarks: "The conduct of the First European Regiment under Lieut.-Colonel Burnet was in every way worthy of British troops. Their example had the happiest effect and was emulated by all the native troops."

During the last days of November and early part of December the British camp was on the plain to the south of the Fortress, but was then moved to the west, *J*.

On December 1st General Lake, having received orders to reduce the fortresses within the Bhurtpore territory, moved his headquarters towards Deig, and on the 15th assumed command of the British force before that Fortress. The pioneers worked so well that a trench 300 yards long was finished before sunrise on the 16th, and the foremost breaching battery was within 750 yards of "the King's Redoubt," *A*. After several days of constant bombardment a practicable breach was made in the Redoubt on the 23rd, and the Commander-in-Chief ordered an attack at 11.30 that night.

Three columns were ordered to be formed. The centre or main storming party, under Lieut.-Colonel Macrae, consisted of the flank companies of the Regiment, His Majesty's 22nd and 76th, with one complete battalion of sepoys. The right supporting column, under Captain Kelly, was formed of four battalion companies of the Regiment and five companies of sepoys. This column was ordered to storm the enemy's outworks to the north and west of the King's Redoubt, and,

**Capture of the  
Fortress of Deig.**

having carried them, to follow the main storming party through the breach.

The left supporting column, composed of four battalion companies of the Regiment and five companies of sepoy, commanded by Major Radcliffe, was ordered to assault the enemy's outworks to the south and east, and, having carried them, to follow the centre storming party.

The remainder of the British force formed a reserve, and was stationed on the plain.

The three columns took up position before midnight and advanced simultaneously soon afterwards.

The centre of Macrae's column found the plain under the breach so covered with the debris of the broken walls that their progress in the darkness was seriously impeded. The right or Kelly's and the left or Radcliffe's columns, diverging, first came into action; the men sprang into the enemy's outworks, which they soon captured, and forced the enemy to seek cover within the Fortress, securing the guns, which they spiked.

In the meantime Macrae's column, having with great difficulty crossed the plain, formed up for the attack under cover of the walls of the Fortress; and the order to storm the breach having been given by Macrae, a rush was made up the incline. The leading files, scrambling over the masses of broken masonry, gained the breach, when a desperate fight for its possession ensued. The first few men who forced their way through the breach were sabred by the enemy, but the rest of the column quickly following, and favoured by the darkness, forced their way through the breach and, charging forward, carried the south-west bastion of the King's Redoubt.

Kelly's and Radcliffe's columns now joined Macrae in the captured bastion, and, having re-formed, the main walls of the Fortress, south and west, were attacked, most of the bastions being carried at the point of the bayonet.

The British columns now formed up inside the walls and steadily advanced towards the Citadel, *F*; but under cover of the darkness, some of Holkar's troops got round the British line, making a bold attempt to recapture their guns and turn them round on their enemy; but, fortunately, just at this time the clouds broke and the moon shone out with great brilliancy, enabling the British line to return to the captured bastions, which were a second time wrenched from the grasp of the enemy, and the guns spiked. The reserve was now employed in removing from the enemy's outworks and the King's Redoubt the captured guns, which were placed in safety on the plain outside; the storming columns again advanced towards the gates of the citadel, *F*, which they were preparing to assault, when it was found that, under the apprehension of capture, Holkar's troops had been escaping from the Fortress by the outer gates on the north and east, and, having gained the open country, were hurrying off in the direction of Bhurtpore.

When day broke on the morning of December 24th, the British were in full possession of the town and Fortress of Deig.

The British loss amounted to 43 killed, including 2 officers, and 184 wounded, of whom 13 were officers; amongst the latter being Lieutenant Merriman, of the Regiment, who, although wounded in the action of November 13th, was in command of a company during this siege, and was thus again placed *hors de combat*.

The British captured 100 guns, large quantities of ammunition and grain, and £20,000 in specie.

The Fortress of Deig was repaired, the guns remounted, and the fortifications and outworks improved and strengthened; and on December 28th General Lake commenced his advance on the Fortress of Bhurtpore.

After the Battle of Deig it was found that the Raja of Bhurtpore had been assisting Holkar with his troops, most of the garrison of the Fortress consisting of Bhurtpore troops. From this time the Raja and Holkar were avowedly allies, and in consequence the siege of Bhurtpore itself had to be undertaken. On January 2nd the British army, augmented by His Majesty's 75th Regiment, encamped two miles west of the Fortress. Trenches were opened and breaching batteries erected, being completed on the 7th; during their construction Captain-Lieutenant Thomas Ramsay of the Regiment was wounded, returning to duty on the 20th.

A practical breach being made on the 9th, an assault was ordered for that night, three storming columns being formed. The right  
**First Assault on Bhurtpore.** consisted of 150 of the Regiment and a battalion of sepoy, under Lieut.-Colonel Ryan; the left, of two companies of His Majesty's 75th, under Major Hawkes, and a battalion of sepoy; and the centre or main column, of the flank companies of the Regiment, His Majesty's 22nd, 75th and 76th Regiments, under Lieut.-Colonel Maitland of the 75th Regiment, about 500 European soldiers, and a sepoy battalion.

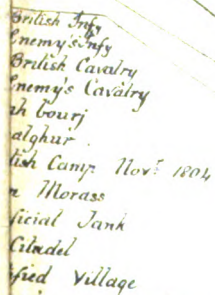
The right or Ryan's column had orders to force the Nim Gate of the Fortress, followed by the right or Hawke's column, both to push on to the town in the heart of the Fortress, whilst the main column, under Maitland, should attack the breach.

At 8 p.m. the three columns advanced under a random fire of shot and grape from the Fortress and outworks. The ground was much broken by water-courses and ravines, causing the columns to be intermixed, and resulting in great confusion.

The General had anticipated that the enemy, in the darkness, would be taken by surprise, but, remembering Deig, they were on the alert. The flank companies of His Majesty's 22nd crossed the wet ditch successfully, led by Lieutenant Manser, and mounted the ascent without support. The remainder of the storming columns had become separated in the darkness, and, though heavy firing was heard right and left in the entrenchments below, it was found impossible to attract their attention, and the survivors were forced to retire.



and of the  
Capture of "Oreg" on  
December 24<sup>th</sup> 1804.



I from occupied Dec<sup>r</sup> 15<sup>th</sup>  
 J British position during the Siege  
 K Enemy's counter battery.  
 L British batteries erected Dec<sup>r</sup> 20<sup>th</sup>  
 M British battery erected Dec<sup>r</sup> 22<sup>nd</sup>

Positions of Regiment marked in Red

*Fus.*

The right column in the meantime had made its way up to the Nim gate, capturing the works and guns outside ; but they could not follow up the advantage gained, as the ditch in their front was unfordable.

Colonel Maitland now arrived at the breach, followed by a number of his men, and the assault was again attempted; but by this time the enemy, expecting that an attempt would be made to storm the breach, had retired three of their guns, with which they enfiladed the breach on the inside. Colonel Maitland charged at the head of his men, and had just succeeded in gaining a footing inside when he was shot dead. Many other officers and men fell in attempting to carry the breach, and ultimately the storming party was ordered to retire to the trenches, baffled but not humiliated.

The three columns were now ordered back to camp, the loss on the occasion amounting to 5 officers and 64 men killed, 23 officers and 364 men wounded ; amongst these latter being Lieutenants Wood, Hamilton, and Brown, of the Regiment.

On the following day the defenders having repaired the breaches it was determined to direct the fire on the right bastions of the Fortress, and for this purpose General Lake ordered additional batteries to be constructed.

On January 16th all these guns opened a furious cannonade with good effect, but although the siege artillery fired incessantly it was not until the 21st that a practicable breach had been effected.

As the enemy, on account of the day and night fire, had not been able to repair or stockade the breach, they withdrew their guns from the embrasures, placing them in such a position right and left of the breach that should the storming parties reach the summit, a heavy enfilading fire would be brought to bear upon them before they could gain a footing. It was this plan that had served their purpose so well during the first assault, but General Lake determined that the second attack should not be delivered until the engineers had ascertained which part of the ditch could be most easily forded.

To enable the storming parties to cross the ditch without wading through the mud and water, three broad ladders were constructed, covered with strong laths, and fitted with elevating screws and levers, so that they could be raised or depressed at will.

All being now ready, the storming party, under Colonel Macrae, was selected as follows :—120 men of the 75th, 160 men of the 76th, 100 of the Regiment, and the survivors of the 22nd's flank companies. This column was entrusted with storming the breach, and should it succeed the remaining Europeans and three sepoy battalions were to follow and support the storming party.

At night on the 21st the storming party moved into the advanced trenches.

**Second Assault  
on Bhurtpore.**

At 3 p.m., 22nd, the storming party moved out of the trenches under cover of the guns. The portable bridges were carried by picked men, who had been previously exercised in the mode of using them. The 75th and 76th kept up the fire upon the batteries above,



whilst the Regiment and the 22nd fixed the bridges. The advanced party, reaching the ditch, were mortified to find that they had been outwitted, for the enemy had so dammed up the ditch below the ford that a quantity of water was collected in it, and the portable bridges were in consequence too short for the span, and quite useless.

One of the tallest of the grenadiers, who sprang into the water, proved that it was upwards of eight feet deep, and some parties were then told off to swim the ditch. Lieutenant Morris of the Regiment, accompanied by Lieutenant Brown with twelve of the grenadiers, volunteered to lead the party. The gallantry of Serjeant Allan, of the grenadier company, on this occasion, should ever be remembered by the Regiment with pride. The swimmers all plunged into the water, and, led by Morris, reached the farther bank of the ditch ; and they even succeeded in mounting up to the breach, but here Morris and several of his men were wounded, and the enemy having made a rush upon them before they had gained a firm footing inside the walls, they were all hurled down the ascent.

To carry the breach on this occasion being now found impossible, the storming party was ordered to return to the trenches, disappointed but not disheartened. The loss on this, the second assault, was again very severe ; 28 officers and 573 rank and file were either killed or wounded, amongst the latter being Lieutenants Morris and Watson of the Regiment.

On February 6th the British camp was moved opposite to the north-east face of the Fortress, and preparations made for the next assault. The troops were at this time employed day and night in constructing vastly extended outworks, with fascines and gabions, and additional batteries connected by chain-posts and trenches round the new ground, extending to the foremost batteries.

The officers and men of the Regiment were conspicuous for their exertions in the trenches, the Commander-in-Chief, who personally supervised the siege-works, frequently expressing his warm thanks for the unremitting activity of the men in the performance of their arduous duties. On one of these occasions some of the men of the Regiment, apologizing to their Chief for their dirty appearance, urged as an excuse that they had not found time to change their shirts for several weeks. General Lake remarked approvingly that their dirty shirts were an honour to the wearers, showing that they had willingly sacrificed comfort to their duty. His Excellency used frequently to address the Regiment as his own " Dirty Shirts "—a name which has been cherished with pride by the Regiment ever since those days in the trenches before Bhurtpore, and to the day of the disbandment of the Regiment some of the handsome plate on the mess table of the Royal Munster Fusiliers bore the inscription :—" Presented by an old ' Dirty Shirt.' "

On February 10th the British Army was reinforced by a column from the Bombay Presidency, consisting of His Majesty's 65th, 86th, five battalions of sepoys, and about 800 cavalry.

On the night of February 19th all was ready for the third assault. The left storming party, under Colonel Don, being formed by the **Third Assault on Bhurtpore.** Regiment, His Majesty's 75th and 76th Foot, supported by three battalions of sepoy. The centre column, consisting of 200 men of His Majesty's 86th and one sepoy battalion, was appointed to storm the enemy's trenches outside the batteries, and the right column, consisting of 300 men of His Majesty's 65th and two battalions of Bombay sepoy, was told off to attack and force the main entrance gate or Nim gate.

The storming party proceeded on their way through the approach, but as they neared the ditch an alarm was raised that the enemy had placed a slow match in a mine, thus causing a check in the advance. The flank companies of His Majesty's 22nd and a sepoy regiment with two 6-pounders kept up a fire of grape on the walls and bastions, whilst the storming party now attempted the assault. The ditch was found to be impassable on foot, and in the darkness and confusion consequent on the alarm the pontoons could not be found. Notwithstanding this a number of the storming party managed to cross, and seeing that the bastion on the right presented a rough appearance on its face they at once made an attempt to ascend it, but there was not sufficient support to hold the position, and Lieutenant Moore of the Regiment fell mortally wounded at this moment.

The loss of the British, in this the third assault, had been very severe, the ramparts above and the whole counter-scarp being strewn with killed and wounded. Colonel Don, commanding the storming party, judging that further attempts would result in irredeemable loss, retired with his whole party to the trenches; the losses were 3 officers and 162 men killed, and 25 officers and 732 men wounded.

The next morning, February 21st, a general parade was ordered, at which the Commander-in-Chief pointed out that the failure on the **Fourth Assault on Bhurtpore.** previous day was mainly due to the needless alarm in the trenches, and he called for volunteers for an immediate assault. The troops volunteered to a man, so the fourth assault was ordered for 4 p.m. on that day.

The storming party on this occasion consisted of the shattered remains of the Regiment, 22nd, 65th, 76th, 86th, and two battalions of sepoy, the command being conferred on Colonel Monson.

The Commander-in-Chief received hearty cheers from the men as they advanced to the assault, and it appeared as if on this occasion there could be no failure. The advanced party made for the ruined bastion, but to their disappointment it was found to be so steep that the men could not effect an ascent. They then attempted to form steps with their bayonets, which they drove into the crevices of the stone wall; and many of the men ascended to a considerable height, but they were dislodged by various missiles hurled on them by the defenders from above. Separate parties were now hurriedly formed and placed under selected officers to storm any breaches that could be

found promising a fair chance of success. The enemy had by this time gained confidence from the repeated failures, and threw down on the attacking parties large masses of masonry, flaming bales of cotton, pots filled with gunpowder and other combustibles, which, bursting in the air, caused terrible loss of life. After a couple of hours fruitlessly occupied in attempting to ascend the bastion, the troops were again withdrawn to camp, with a loss of 6 officers and 125 men killed and 28 officers and 862 men wounded.

In this, the fourth, assault, Captain Ramsay, Lieutenant Hamilton, and Ensign Chance, of the Regiment, were wounded. Captain Ramsay commanded the light company of the Regiment during this assault, receiving a musket ball in the face.

In the attempts to carry the Fortress of Bhurtpore, the British Army had up to date lost 109 officers and 2,910 rank and file either killed or wounded.

The following is an extract from a journal kept by Lieutenant Brown :—  
“ Previous to the force breaking up, and when Lord Lake inspected the remnants of the Regiment, finding it so weak, he directed it to be dismissed, remarking, ‘ They are only fit for fighting.’ ”

The absolute necessity of carrying the Fortress by storm was still felt by all ; and convoys from February 21st to March 10th arrived daily at camp with provisions, guns, ammunition, fascines, etc., and preparations were made for erecting fresh batteries, the old guns, as soon as they were repaired, being placed in position.

The garrison, although it had resisted four determined assaults, was by no means confident of ultimate success, and the Raja’s troops were deserting in large numbers, whilst others clamoured for peace.

Negotiations for peace were opened on March 10th, but as delays and prevarications ensued Lord Lake, on April 8th, changed ground to the south-east of the Fortress, and made preparations for a renewal of hostilities.

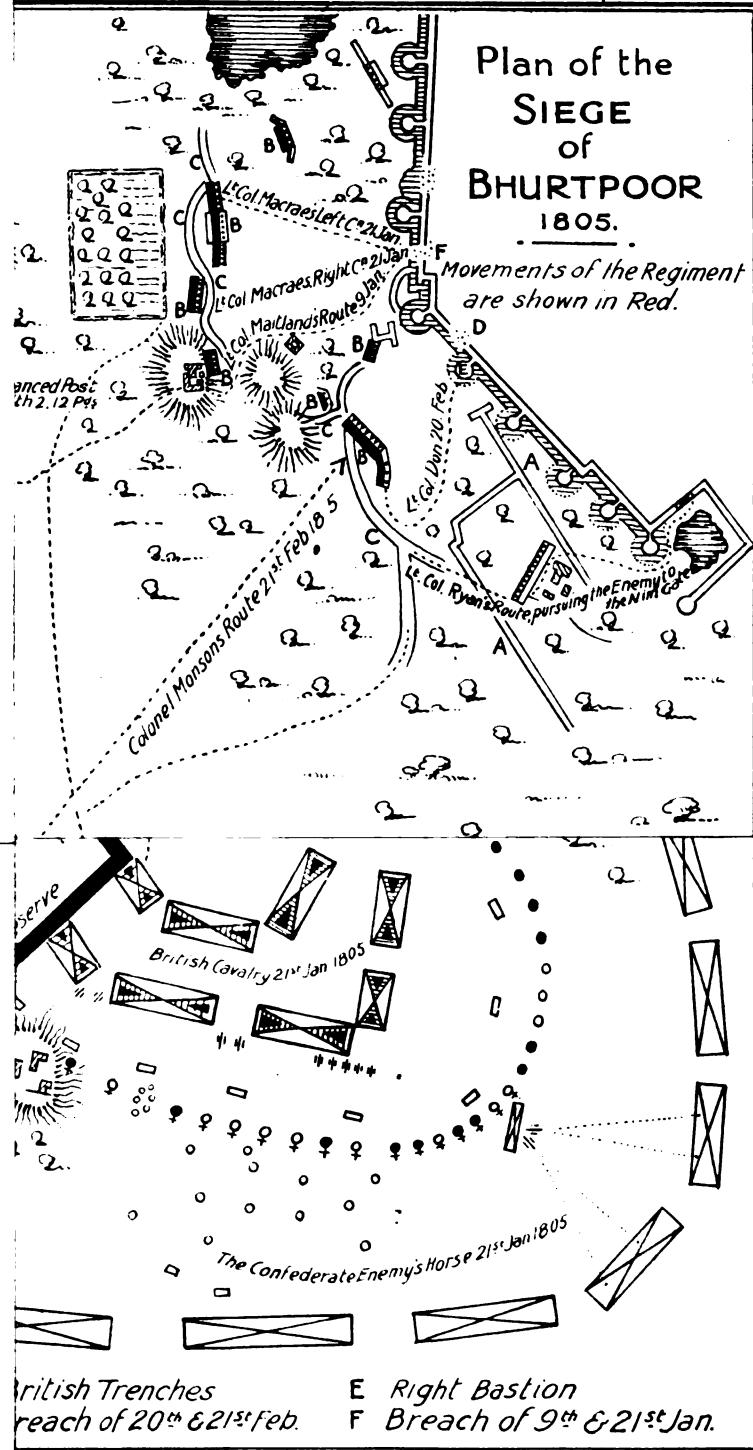
On April 9th the Raja sent his Vakeel saying he was at last prepared to conclude terms of peace ; and, negotiations having been reopened, the preliminaries were signed on April 10th.

It was arranged that the Fortress of Deig should remain in British possession until the Government should be assured of the Raja’s fidelity, when it should be returned to the Native Government.

The British camp before Bhurtpore was, in consequence of this treaty, broken up on April 21st, and the Regiment went into quarters at Futteharh.

Holkar, after his retreat from Bhurtpore, had succeeded in collecting some troops, and marched in a northerly direction in search of plunder or conquest ; Lord Lake, fearing that the Sikhs might be induced to join the “ Mahratta Chieftain,” assembled a flying column on October 16th, consisting of His Majesty’s 8th, 24th, and 25th Dragoons, three regiments of native cavalry, His Majesty’s 22nd Foot, and the Regiment, with two sepoy battalions, and on October 25th started in pursuit. About midway between the Rivers Sutlej and Bias the cavalry scouts sighted Holkar’s rearguard, pressing

# Plan of the SIEGE of BHURTPUR 1805.





forward through the very heart of the Punjab, where they were closely pursued by Lord Lake's flying column.

Arrived at Amritsar, Holkar found that the Sikh chiefs in council unanimously determined to deny him all aid and countenance, and, with the object of getting rid of both the armies, Runjit Sing, the Maharaja of the Punjab, offered to interpose in the character of a mediator.

In the meantime Lord Cornwallis, the Governor-General, had died in Bengal, and was replaced by Sir George Barlow, who, to Lord Lake's mortification, directed him to restore to Holkar the territories which had been wrenched from his grasp at such a terrible sacrifice of life and money, thus practically destroying all hopes of permanent peace, and instituting a reign of terror and disorder.

A treaty was arranged in accordance with Sir George Barlow's orders, and on January 9th the flying brigade commenced its return march to Delhi, which it reached on February 15th.

In February, 1807, Lord Lake embarked for England, where he died on February 28th in the following year. He was beloved by the Regiment, and, in fact, by all his troops, for he was a great leader as well as a commander; and although a strict disciplinarian he always took thought for the comfort of his men. The anniversary of his death was for many years suitably observed in the Regiment, his memory being at all times held dear by those officers who had had the privilege of serving under him in the field.

In June, Lord Minto, then Governor-General of India, ordered an expedition to be prepared for the defence of the Portuguese Settlement at Macao, in order to meet any attack that might be made by the French, with whom England and Portugal were at war in Europe, Major Thomas M. Waguelen, of the Regiment, was promoted to the local rank of Colonel, and placed in command of the Expedition, which consisted of 200 men of the Regiment, a like number of the 30th Foot, 100 European artillery, with eight 18- and four 12-pounder guns, two 8-inch mortars, and two field-pieces, as well as 650 sepoys.

The Expedition sailed from Bengal in August, and anchored in the Macao Roads on October 20th. The duties which now devolved on Colonel Waguelen were of a political as well as a military character, and required the utmost tact and delicacy. The alarm of the Chinese Government at the close proximity of a British force created complications which culminated in feelings of enmity on the part of the Chinese inhabitants, manifesting itself in repeated affrays and assaults, so that it became necessary strictly to confine all the troops to their quarters. Trade was brought to a standstill, and every endeavour at explanation was rejected, the only reply being, "Put your troops on board ship, and then we will hear you."

To watch the proceedings of the British Expedition and to guard against surprise, a Chinese force disembarked at the extremity of the island, occupying a joss-house, where they ultimately made preparations for war.

It now became necessary for Waguelen to determine on some decided course of action, the adoption of which would prevent hostilities, reopen trade, restore confidence, and re-establish commercial relations with China.

Under these threatening circumstances Colonel Waguelen judiciously determined to re-embark his troops, carefully avoiding any cause for alarm to the peaceable inhabitants of Macao ; and this measure having been successfully accomplished, the Expedition returned to Bengal, where it landed in the middle of February, 1809.

The soldier-like demeanour of the men who formed this Expedition was very favourably commented upon ; confined to their quarters on short provisions and surrounded by a hostile population, they maintained that strict discipline which is as essential in peace as in war.

The Governor-General in Council, as well as the Commander-in-Chief, expressed the highest satisfaction, and tendered the thanks of the Government for " the great prudence, discretion, vigilance, and activity manifested " by Colonel Waguelen and the men under his command. The detachment of the Regiment returned to their headquarters at Dinapore, where Colonel Waguelen was appointed to the command of the Regiment.

In 1810 events in Europe had placed the colonial possessions of the Dutch in Java and the Molucca Islands in the hands of the French, and Lord Minto, Governor-General of India, determined on the capture of these settlements. A small force of about 400 men of the Madras European Regiment, with three ships of war, was dispatched to the Island of Amboyna, which capitulated on February 19th ; in September Lord Minto decided that Bengal troops should relieve the Madras troops and should permanently garrison the island. Orders were issued for a strong detachment of the Regiment, then quartered at Dinapore, to hold itself in readiness to embark for Amboyna.

**Operations  
in Java.**

The detachment consisted of one flank company and three battalion companies, making in all 368 officers and men, the whole under the command of Major Kelly.

The detachment sailed for its destination in October, 1810, very severe storms being encountered during the voyage, and the transports sustaining considerable injuries.

On its arrival Major Kelly, who had been promoted to a Lieutenant-Colonelcy, assumed command of all the forces on the island by virtue of his seniority.

The headquarters of the Regiment and six companies had been ordered to remain at Dinapore.

A second detachment of the Regiment, under Captain Sir Thomas Ramsay, Bart., sailed in the Company's ship *Mentor*, for Amboyna, in January, 1811.

This detachment suffered greatly from malarial fever, which was raging throughout the islands. Lieut.-Colonel Kelly was amongst the officers who

succumbed to the disease (December, 1811), and the command then devolved upon Captain Sir Thomas Ramsay.

The climate of Amboyna was anything but salubrious though the scenery was very beautiful, Fort Victoria being situated on the north side of the bay. Whilst quartered at Fort Victoria the duties which devolved on the officers of the Regiment required much tact, judgment, courage and vigilance, as there were frequent disturbances amongst the natives. The Malays were noted for their perfidy and cruelty, and the Chinese for their dishonesty and lack of principle, whilst the slaves, of whom there were enormous numbers, were cruelly treated, and in consequence were seething with discontent.

Under these circumstances, and taking into consideration that young officers of the Regiment were unavoidably placed in command of detachments on the different islands and outposts, where they were unable to hold frequent communication with their superiors, it argues well for the discipline of the Regiment and the intelligence of the officers that no instance is recorded of the conduct of any of the officers or men whilst on these detached commands having called for anything but approbation from their superiors.

It was whilst on one of these detached commands that Captain Blankenhagen lost his life. This officer had been appointed to the command of the "Amboyna Corps," which had been raised by him from amongst the Malays and other inhabitants of the island. Captain Blankenhagen had proceeded with some of his men to the island of Ceram with the view of bringing into submission one of the refractory chiefs. An attack on the enemy's stronghold was unsuccessful, and this gallant officer was killed at the head of his men.

On August 4th another expedition, under command of Sir Samuel Auchmuty, consisting of 12,000 troops, half of whom were Europeans, arrived in Batavia Roads off the Island of Java, and after a series of successes the conquest of the island was accomplished, and Lord Minto decided to garrison the forts with British troops and organize a responsible government.

It was under these circumstances that on February 27th, 1812, the headquarters of the Regiment, under command of Lieut.-Colonel Eales, embarked at Calcutta in the transports *Indiana*, *Good Hope*, and *Mussafer*, to join their comrades at Amboyna. In June, 1816, the Raja of Boni, in the island of Celebes, had become aggressive and had taken up a position about eight miles from Macassar, at the entrance to the Baliangan Pass. This passed led to a hill where his forces were entrenched in fifteen strong redoubts, flanked on both sides by almost perpendicular rocks, containing caverns, which were used as magazines or for shelter from artillery fire. A force under Major D. H. Dalton, consisting of Bengal artillery, 4 volunteer Bengal battalions, 340 men of the Regiment, and about 100 seamen and marines, moved from Fort Rotterdam to the attack in two columns, with a reserve commanded by Captain Wood, with Lieutenant Davison, of the Regiment.

Roll of Officers serving with the Regiment in 1812 is shown in Appendix "T," p. 234.



The attack commenced at daybreak on June 8th. The four volunteer battalions advanced against the enemy's left, and a portion of the Regiment, under Lieutenant Watson, against the enemy's right. The left attack was held up for a time by intense fire of the enemy, but on being reinforced by another portion of the Regiment, under Lieutenant Ashe and Lieutenant Goding, the left were successful in pushing home their attack ; and, with the right doing the same, the enemy, after a desperate resistance of over nine hours, were driven from the whole of their entrenchments, with an estimated loss of about 500 men ; the royal flag of Boni was found by the dead body of the Raja. The British losses were 11 men killed, 63 wounded, of whom 8 died shortly after ; amongst the officers wounded were Lieutenants S. Watson (Adjutant), B. Ashe, and J. Goding of the Regiment. In General Orders, Headquarters, Weltevreden, October 16th, 1816, occurs the following :—  
“ . . . . In conclusion, the Commander of the Forces deems it an act of justice to mention the detachment of the Bengal European Regiment, of the 4 Batt. of Bengal Volunteers, and of the Bengal artillery, as the troops composing the garrison of Macassar, on whom the arduous services of the last two years have devolved, and he will derive the highest satisfaction in bringing their merits to the notice of His Excellency the Commander-in-Chief.” The Regiment remained in the Molucca Islands and at Macassar in the island of Celebes until early in April, 1817 ; the islands were formally returned to the Dutch on August 19th. The Regiment returned to Bengal and was again stationed at Dinapore.

In August, 1815, Major T. D. Broughton\*, of the Regiment, was directed to assume command of a large body of recruits, assembled at Berhampore, and formed into a temporary corps of eight companies. As the choice of recruits had become more extended since the peace, this division, as it was termed, of the European Regiment, probably showed the finest body of European infantry that had ever been seen in the Company's service ; several other officers of the Regiment who had on various occasions returned to India were also attached.

At the beginning of 1816 Major Broughton was ordered with four of these companies to Java, where they arrived in April. He was appointed to the command at Weltevreden. On the handing over of the island again to the Dutch these companies were amongst the first to embark for Bengal, arriving back at Berhampore at the end of September. They were again united with those who had remained behind. The division was inspected there in February, 1817, by the Earl of Moira.

On the return of the Headquarters of the Regiment, and the detachments from Amboyna, Major Broughton's time was fully occupied in the amalgamation of all these various units and the introduction of new regulations, the lieutenant-colonel's duties being confined to the command of the station.

\* Lieutenant Thomas Duer Broughton joined the Regiment at Dinapore in July, 1800, served on the Staff in 1803 at Balasore, in 1806 at Barrackpore, went to England in 1811, returned to India in August, 1815, and, as the Regiment was then serving in Java, etc., he was ordered to take over command of the recruits. He was afterwards Lieut.-Colonel, September 1st, 1822.

The Major was completely successful and it was to him that the Regiment was indebted for the formation of the rifle company (which under the command of Captain Wood attained a high state of efficiency), the regimental school, the distribution of men into messes, the appointment of colour-serjeants (the first in the Company's Army and which led to the extension of that rank throughout the Bengal Army), and finally for the establishment of the regimental savings bank.

At this time a regulation was made for all infantry cadets to join, in the first instance, the European Regiment, where they were to continue till reported by the Commanding Officer qualified to join the native corps.

A memorial was presented to the Earl of Moira on December 25th, 1818, pointing out that the allowance and emoluments of the Commanding Officer of the Regiment were inferior to those of the Commanding Officers of native corps, and he had this additional and troublesome responsibility ; some months afterwards additional pay was attached to the command of the Regiment as a compensation for the extra duties.

The encroachments of the Gurkhas had in 1814 compelled the Earl of Moira (afterwards the Marquess of Hastings) to take steps to repress these aggressions, and a force under Major-General J. Sullivan Wood penetrated into the Gurkha country to prevent the transfer of the war to the westward. A small detachment of the Regiment, which had been left behind, formed part of this force, but it does not appear to have come into actual contact with the enemy, and in March, 1816, the war was brought to a conclusion by the authorities in Nepaul conceding all the British Government's demands, and this ended the first and last Gurkha War.

**Nepaul  
War.**

A war of much greater importance now threatened Lord Moira ; it was directed against the Pindaris, who were a clan of freebooters supporting themselves by plunder and murder. They congregated in the Native States, almost invariably Mahratta, and when their treasury was exhausted planned an excursion against some wealthy group of villages demanding treasure, etc. ; a few hours sufficed for the work of murder and theft ; the villages were fired and the robbers retired giving the native government a share for their connivance.

A campaign, therefore, against the Pindaris necessitated a series of wars against many of the powerful Mahratta states, and the Council decided to undertake it on a suitable scale. Moira's plan was to close in on Central India from three sides, a big offensive drive from the south upon a stopping line in the north ; the area was a quadrilateral contained by Delhi, Allahabad, Baroda, and Udaipur.

**Pindari  
War.**

The " Grand Army " for the complete subjection of the Pindaris and their patrons, was assembled immediately after the rainy season in 1817, and was divided into two commands, that of " Bengal " and " The Deccan," the former

H

army consisting of 12 and the latter 24 brigades, numbering in all close on 100,000 men.

The grenadier and light companies of the Regiment again formed part of the "European Flank Battalion," with similar companies of His Majesty's 17th, 24th, and 59th Regiments. This battalion, formed entirely of flankers, was said by an eye-witness to have been "a magnificent corps"; and as it was composed of picked men from the different British regiments serving in Bengal the emulation was very great.

"The European Flank Battalion" of the "Army of Bengal" was in the 2nd Infantry Brigade, commanded by Colonel George Dick; and this brigade marched in October to Secundra, and in November was joined by Lord Moira, who assumed the chief command.

A treaty was entered into with Scindia and some other influential Mahratta chiefs, under which their active co-operation against the Pindaris was promised.

This so-called "Pindari War" was in reality the claim of the Company's government to paramount superiority over all others in India. Up to this period the powerful Mahratta chiefs had controlled the destinies of Central India, but a change was now effected, as, after a few months, several important victories were gained.

Scindia was, of necessity, an ally; the Raja of Nagpore—who had opposed the British—was a fugitive; and the Pindaris, who were not even worthy to be called enemies, were driven from their possessions, and those who declined to follow an honest mode of life were forced into the jungles, where they met with a miserable end. The Pindari War not only cleared the country of what was a disgrace to any civilized government, but, more than this, it firmly established the supremacy of the government of the East India Company throughout India. Although "the flank battalion," of which the grenadier and the light companies of the Regiment formed a part, was not called on to engage in more than guerilla warfare, the services it rendered were important and formed yet another link in the chain of British conquests, resulting in a term of peace, security and prosperity in India, which remained unbroken for many years.

At the conclusion of the war in 1818, "the flank battalion" marched to Allahabad, where it was broken up, and the companies of the Regiment joined their headquarters at Berhampore.

In 1819 the Regiment was stationed at Dinapore, under Colonel T. D. Broughton; it then had the "Rifle Company," known as the "Death or Glory Boys," formed from the pick of the Regiment; this company consisted of 1 captain, 3 lieutenants, 6 serjeants, 6 corporals, 6 buglers, and 100 privates, in rifle green uniforms; when on parade in line it stood six paces to the right of the grenadier company. The Regiment at this period consisted of the rifle, grenadier, light, and seven battalion companies.

This rifle company was broken up in 1824, one of the reasons being the inconvenience, and mistakes likely to occur by the use of three different ball cartridges, one for the rifle, one for the fusils of the light, and one for the battalion companies.

General George Warren, who had left England in October, 1818, and joined the Regiment on June 4th, 1819, after a nine months' passage out, mentions in his "Memoirs" his grief at "parting with my handsome green uniform, to sport a red coat, and become a 'Buffer,' the name by which the battalion companies were then known."

In the year 1824 an important change was ordered in the constitution of the Bengal Europeans, which was then separated into two Regiments.

The officers of the Regiment were divided equally between the two Bengal European Regiments, but no full Colonels were appointed, the senior Lieutenant-Colonel being termed "Lieutenant-Colonel Commandant." A complete staff was nominated to each Regiment, which was composed of five companies only, each company consisting of 6 serjeants, 7 corporals, and 100 privates.

Both Regiments wore the same facings and lace—viz., "sky blue" and "silver."

The Regiment was quartered at Ghazepore when the orders for its reorganization were effected, and the 2nd Regiment was, on its formation, ordered to Dinapore, where it remained until 1825. It then proceeded to Arracan to guard the new frontiers, as defined after the Burmese War of 1824.

On January 29th the Raja of Bhurtpore died, leaving an infant son, Bulwant Singh. A usurper, however, named Durjun Sal, appeared on the scene and gained over many of the Bhurtpore troops, and seized the Fortress. Sir David Ochterlony, the British Resident at Delhi, at once ordered all available troops to move towards Bhurtpore, but Lord Amherst, the Governor-General, declined to sanction the Resident's policy, and in consequence he resigned, dying shortly afterwards. He had served the Company well for fifty years.

**Second Siege  
of Bhurtpore.**

In June the danger of a general war became apparent, and the Government realized they must act, but how and when they could not decide. A man was wanted to lead, and, luckily, such a man was at hand in the person of Sir Charles Metcalfe; he wrote an able minute on the state of affairs at Bhurtpore which turned the scale and reversed Lord Amherst's non-interference policy.

Thus it was that the boasted impregnability of the Fortress of Bhurtpore was again to be tested, and the army to be allowed an opportunity of completing the task which it had failed to accomplish in 1805.

Stapleton Cotton, Lord Combermere—Wellington's best cavalry officer in the Peninsula—was now the Commander-in-Chief, and assumed the command of the Field Force; and the 1st Bengal European Regiment was ordered to be immediately held in readiness to march towards Bhurtpore.

The order for the Regiment to proceed on active service was hailed by the men with delight, not only on account of a natural desire to complete the reduction of the Fortress of Bhurtpore, which had withstood four successive assaults in 1805, but also because cholera\* and a virulent malarial fever had within the past few months reduced the Regiment in strength and spirits, making welcome the prospect of a change to a more healthy climate and vigorous life.

There still remained with the 1st Bengal European Regiment some of the officers and rank and file who had been present during the unsuccessful attempts to capture Bhurtpore in 1805. There had been no lack of courage on those memorable occasions, but there had been failure; "Deig" was inscribed on the Regimental Colours, but "Bhurtpore" was remembered by its absence. Major Alexander Brown was one of those who swam the ditch with the grenadiers on January 22nd, 1805; this officer was still with the Regiment—a tall, handsome man, of courage unsurpassed. To the young officers he was specially kind, ever ready to help them in their difficulties and assist them with his advice. There was also present with the Regiment a man named Allan, known as "Tinker Allan." Private Allan was a regimental character; he was upwards of six feet high, and always took the right of the grenadier company, and no feat was too daring for him to attempt. Captain Morris, who had commanded the grenadiers at the Siege of Bhurtpore, had been shot in the neck, and his leg was broken whilst leading the scaling party across the ditch; it was Allan who rescued his wounded officer, and it may fairly be said that he saved his life. Allan was not a drunkard, but he was a wild, reckless fellow, frequently in trouble, but ever ready to make atonement for his errors. On one occasion he had been tried by a court-martial and sentenced to be flogged. The proceedings of the court were, as usual, read on parade, and Allan began to strip to receive the lash, when Colonel Roberts,† then commanding the Regiment, called him to the front and thus addressed him: "Private Allan, you have proved yourself on many occasions to be a brave and gallant soldier, and your deeds are well known in the Regiment. I will not submit you to the disgrace of the lash. I will remit your punishment, and I hope that the mercy which I have now shown you will induce you to be as good a soldier in quarters as you have been in the field." Allan was ordered to take his place in the ranks, and his release was hailed with joy by his comrades.

\* In the burial-ground at Ghazee-pore may still be seen sad mementoes of this visitation of cholera, in the long rows of graves of the men of the Regiment. On one of these the following epitaph to the memory of a deceased soldier may be seen:—

I'M BILLETED HERE BY DEATH,  
AND HERE I MUST REMAIN:  
WHEN THE LAST TRUMPET SOUNDS,  
I'LL RISE AND MARCH AGAIN,  
ERECTED BY HIS COMRADES.

† Colonel A. Roberts was the father of Field-Marshal Earl Roberts of Kandahar, Pretoria and Waterford, V.C., K.G., etc., who was born in the Regiment at Cawnpore on September 30th, 1832. (See Appendix "H.")

Five days sufficed to collect the necessary transport when the order to join the army before Bhurtpore was received by the 1st Bengal European Regiment, and amidst hearty cheers the Regiment commenced its march. On arrival at Shekoabad, orders from the Commander-in-Chief were received directing that the Regiment should push on as quickly as possible. The march was resumed immediately, and a distance of fourteen additional miles was accomplished, the Regiment reaching Etimadpore before daybreak the next morning. Breakfast was taken, and without pitching camp the Regiment continued its march a further distance of fifteen miles to Agra, when of necessity it halted a few hours to obtain service ammunition and exchange condemned arms. At 4 p.m. the same day, January 6th, the men were drawn up on parade in open column of companies, right in front, in heavy marching order, and, the word of command having been given, the Regiment commenced its final march of thirty-six miles which was to bring the men face to face with their old enemy, who, just twenty years previously, had foiled and defeated them.

Before dawn signs of exhaustion were apparent, and it seemed as if the men would be unable to complete their task. A halt appeared inevitable, when a deep boom was heard in the distance; the roar of the cannon becoming louder and louder, the men at once with a cheer and refreshed vigour pushed on along the road. Extra liquor was served, and at daylight on the morning of the 7th the "Dirty Shirts," having again proved their title to their sobriquet, arrived on the plain before Bhurtpore.

The Regiment had in eighteen hours marched sixty miles, during the last thirty-six of which each man had carried sixty rounds of ball ammunition.

In consideration of these extraordinary exertions and the fatigue which the Regiment had undergone, the Commander-in-Chief, after inspecting it, ordered that it should be allowed three days' entire rest and excused from all duties.

After this rest the Regiment was placed in the 2nd Infantry Division, commanded by Major-General Jasper Nicols, the position of their camp being to the west of the town of Bhurtpore. Many of the officers went into the trenches to obtain a view of the Fort and its approaches.

General G. Warren states in his "Memoirs": "I went with Major Brown [the Lieutenant of 1805]; when we got to the trenches a very heavy firing was being kept up by both sides. I kept my eye fixed on the Major, a fine tall, handsome man of courage unsurpassed, over six feet in height, standing like a rock, laughing and never flinching. . . . In this large force only two of Lord Lake's soldiers could be found, and those two in the European Regiment, Major Brown and Private Allan, known as 'Tinker Allan,' both of whom swam the Bhurtpore ditch in 1805. Allan was a grenadier, bold, of towering height, daring, cool, and determined. A regular devil-may-care sort of fellow, spared no one in the fight, destroying every one coming in his way. On one occasion, rebuked by his captain for bayoneting a youth,

Roll of Officers serving in the Regiment at this time is shown in Appendix "T," pp. 235, 236.

'Tinker' replied, 'If I had not killed him, sir, he would have become a man.' A hard drinker, frequently in trouble, consequently never promoted, though on many occasions deserving it, he was faithful and devoted to his officers; to save theirs he would have risked his own life any day." He also mentioned a question often asked in the trenches by the men, "Why has Lord Combermere higher claims to his title since his arrival in India?" the answer being, "Because he has Come-by-Mer!"

During the early part of January two or three mines had been pushed towards the Fortress, some of which had been countermined by the enemy, and some had been exploded with the view of distracting the enemy's attention from the main work. The British had now 130 heavy guns in position. On the 10th the Regiment was told off to work in the trenches which were connected with the right "battery," and daily two companies went in on twenty-four hours' duty.

On January 17th orders were issued by the Commander-in-Chief for the grand assault; and on the following morning, the preparations having been completed, the troops commenced to occupy the trenches, so as to be in readiness for the contemplated attack, the springing of the mine under the "Futteh Bourj" being the signal for a general advance.

**Assault and  
Capture of  
Bhurtpore.**

The attack on the centre breach at the north-west angle was allotted to Major-General Reynell, with the brigades of McCombe and Paton; each of these brigades were composed of two native battalions with four companies of the 14th Regiment. The right-hand breach on the north face of the north-east angle, called the Jangina Breach, was allotted to four companies of the Regiment, the 58th Native Infantry, and 100 Gurkhas, under Lieut.-Colonel Delamain.

The left breach at the salient of the long-necked bastion was allotted to the 59th Regiment, with three native battalions under Brigadier-General Edwards.

The Muttra Gate was to be taken by two native battalions under Brigadier-General Adams; and a column of two companies of the Regiment, two native companies, and 100 Gurkhas, under Lieut.-Colonel Wilson, was to escalate the re-entrant angle of the long-necked bastion on the right of the left breach.

One company of the Regiment, under Lieut.-Colonel Cartwright, joined the reserve in the trenches.

The morning of June 18th was bright and clear, the enemy having learnt that the British troops had all taken position during the night, and finding that the trenches were packed with men, anticipated an immediate attack. The "Futteh Bourj" was crowded with the enemy's artillery and infantry, by signs and gestures bidding defiance to the besiegers, who were silently awaiting the signal. Exactly at eight o'clock a low rumbling sound was heard; the large bastion was noticed to silently disconnect itself right and left from the Fortress, and for a few seconds to oscillate with its human load,





THE SIEGE OF BHURTPORE, 1826.

*Reproduced from "Prints of British Military Operations" by kind permission of Colonel C. de W. Crookshank.*





who now for the first time suspected they were over a gigantic mine, charged with nearly a ton of powder. The rumbling sound was soon succeeded by a roar, when, in the midst of flames and blinding smoke, the huge mass of the "Futteh Bourj" rose for a second towards the cloudless sky, and then split and crumbled into a million fragments, which were scattered far and wide.

It was now seen that the mine had been very much overcharged, and the destruction dealt around had not been confined to the enemy only, for several of the main assaulting party were killed and three of the officers wounded. Combermere himself had a narrow escape, for an officer was killed at his side, and two Sepoys behind him.

The stunning effect of the explosion of this surcharged mine caused a temporary check in the British advance ; but, as the dust and smoke passed off in a dense cloud, the stormers were seen steadily advancing towards the breaches, unchecked by the heavy fire from those bastions which had escaped injury from the explosion, His Majesty's 14th Regiment conspicuously displaying the black or "No Quarter" flag, on account of one of their comrades having been captured by the enemy in the early part of the siege and barbarously murdered.

The four companies of the Regiment leading the right attack having to make their way across 200 yards of the plain, several of the men fell before reaching the ditch, on nearing which an order was received for Nos. 1 and 2 Companies to attack and force the Jangina Gate itself, the former under Captain William Davison, the latter under Lieutenant George Warren (afterwards General George Warren).

These companies, carrying scaling ladders, kept close under the walls of the Fort, from which a constant fire was sustained, fortunately passing over the heads of the party.

On reaching the gate, the ladders were quickly placed, but the fortifications being strongly defended, it at first appeared doubtful if the men could scale the walls ; but, scrambling, struggling, and shouldering one another, the summit was reached. So obstinate was the resistance that the loss was very severe, Lieutenant Candy being mortally wounded, and several men killed and wounded.

The cool courage of the two officers, Captain Davison and Lieutenant Warren, who led the storming party against the Jangina Gate, was beyond all praise ; they were the first to ascend the ladders and bear the brunt of the assault.

An entrance having been effected, a desperate struggle ensued. The enemy began to give way, and a rapid and determined charge was made on a four-gun battery which covered the approach of the main entrance into the Fortress ; the guns were soon captured, most of the enemy being bayoneted at their posts. In the assault on this battery Lieutenant Warren was attacked by one of the gunners, who, feigning death, suddenly sprang up and desperately wounded this officer before he had time to defend himself ; but his life was

saved by Corporal Quinn of the Regiment, an Irishman, who arrived just in time to shoot the sepoy dead.

The Jangina Gate was now opened from the inside, and the British troops rapidly entered ; but such had been the desperate nature of the attack at the Gate that all three officers of the scaling party of the Regiment had fallen during the assault.

Meanwhile the storming parties of the 14th had rushed the centre breach, and McCombe's brigade, turning to the right, met Delmain's force, which now included only two companies of the Regiment, as the other two were engaged in the capture of the Jangina Gate. This latter force had had a fierce hand-to-hand struggle in the right-hand breach.

**Capture of  
Bhurtpore.**

The two forces united and at once pressed on along the ramparts to the Kumbher Gate, where they awaited reinforcements and fresh ammunition.

The 59th, after scaling the left-hand breach, turned to their left, and, joined by Paton's brigade, the united forces fought their way round the ramparts to the Kumbher Gate, where they met Delmain's and McCombe's column.

The column, under Lieut.-Colonel Wilson, which included two other companies of the Regiment, had escalated the re-entrant angle of the long-neck bastion in gallant style, and, clearing the ramparts and bastions in their vicinity, forced their way into the town to stop the flanking fire from the houses. Although there was still some firing and fighting, the fate of Bhurtpore was by this time settled.

The enemy, finding further resistance was useless, fled through those gates of the Fortress of which they still retained possession.

At 4 p.m. Bhurtpore, the invincible, surrendered unconditionally.

The enemy lost some 14,000 killed and wounded, and, in addition, thousands of fugitives were swept up by the British cavalry.

Thus were the pretensions of the Fortress of Bhurtpore to impregnability annihilated ; and thus was the power of the British, which had been shaken by the indecision of Lord Amherst and his Council, re-established by the courage, self-sacrifice, skill, and determination of the army under Lord Combermere.

The Fortress of Bhurtpore was now levelled to the ground, and all its defences which had survived the siege were destroyed ; but the ever-memorable name of Bhurtpore—which had cost the Bengal European Regiment, during the five assaults in which it had been engaged, the lives of so many of its officers and men—was now added to the honours borne by the Regiment, and the memory of this glorious victory is recorded on the colours of the Royal Munster Fusiliers.

The companies of the Regiment actively engaged in the final storm and capture of Bhurtpore lost in killed Lieutenant Henry Candy, 1 serjeant, and 9 rank and file ; in wounded, Captain William Davison and Lieutenant George Warren (both severely), 2 serjeants, and 38 rank and file.

The following is an interesting extract from General Warren's Memoirs, giving a description of his being wounded, and subsequent events :—

" I saw him [Quinn] running towards me, I heard a ' bang,' and the fellow fell dead at my feet ; the next sound was ' thump,' ' thump,' ' thump,' and Quinn in a loud voice exclaiming, whilst finishing the sepoy off with the butt of his musket, ' By Jasus ! you shall never strike another officer as long as you live.' The whole transaction was the work of a few moments, and certainly Quinn saved me.

" From loss of blood I had been weak and faint, and removal to the Field Hospital was a necessity. Four men of my company took me down through the Jangina Gate ; but as shots were still flying about, I was placed under shelter. I was dying from excessive thirst, and, seeing water in the ditch, cried out for a drink. I heard the men lamenting amongst themselves at not having means of carrying the water to me ; but suddenly one of them exclaimed, ' My metal bayonet scabbard will do.' Down he went, and while filling the scabbard the water appeared to be boiling from the shots coming into it ; nevertheless, at all risks, he filled it, and brought me a drink that was life.

" I had bled profusely, and was still bleeding when taken on to the trenches, and heard an artillery officer exclaim, ' An officer of the European Regiment, very badly wounded,' knowing the regiment by the sky-blue facings.

" ' Brandy ! brandy !' was the call. No sooner was it brought than a glassful was poured down my throat, and I was put into a doolie and sent on to the Field Hospital.

" What a sight of horrors ! Men horribly mutilated and in agonies of pain, some undergoing amputation, others dying, many dead ; scarce known to be Europeans, so black, having been blown up by the explosion of a powder magazine. The doctors looking so formidable in their long red aprons ; chloroform was of course unknown in those days. I fear, I tremble. My right arm, I was afraid, would offer practice to the surgeon, but it was saved, but not so the upper part of the left thumb ; that would not remain, they said. I was asked to sit myself down ; this honour I declined, for I had no particular desire to be fastened down, so stood to my legs, held out my left hand ; there was a cut, a suppressed groan, the joint was off ! All the other wounds were dressed, and I was put to bed.

" About 11 o'clock that night, Corporal Hobbs, of the late rifle company, now of the light company, who had been escorting wounded men, searched me out and related much that interested me ; it distressed me greatly when he informed me that Quinn had been shot dead, passing down one of the streets."

Lieutenant Warren rejoined the Regiment at Dinapore later on as captain of the Light Company.

There was a prophecy which stated that Bhurtpore would never be taken till an alligator came and drank of the waters of the Lake Motee Jheel. The native pronunciation of "Combermere" was "Koombere," an "alligator." No wonder they said the British had taken their fort for an alligator had come and drunk up the waters. It may have been this superstitious feeling which led to the surrender of the other Forts at Deig, Weir, Alwar, etc., for they were all capable of making a very stout resistance.

The army before Bhurtpore broke up early in April, when the 1st Bengal European Regiment proceeded to Agra; the 2nd Regiment joining them on their return from Cheduba, Arracan, before the close of the year.

The next year the Regiment moved to Dinapore in course of relief. General O'Halloran, who commanded the Division, on the first "Bhurtpore Day" after the Regiment had joined his command, ordered it to parade for his inspection, and directed that every Bhurtpore man should appear with a piece of laurel in his cap; and the rest of the day was kept as a fete-day. In the evening there was a full dress dinner which the General attended, and after a complimentary speech he proposed a toast in allusion to Bhurtpore, the band playing round the mess table, stopped behind Captain Warren's chair to play the "Bhurtpore March."

In May, 1829, it was notified that, in pursuance of orders from England, officers in the Company's Service would thereafter be eligible to promotion by brevet for distinguished services in action in the same manner as officers of His Majesty's Service, and in the same year orders were issued that the pay of European soldiers was to be issued to them daily, in lieu of monthly settlement, which was customary up till then.

The following is an extract from General Orders, Calcutta, November 12th, 1829:—

"The Colours of the 2nd European Regiment are to be lodged in the Agra Magazine, and Major D. G. Scott, who is now in charge of that Corps, will proceed to join his own regiment after making over all public records and papers to the senior officer, Lieut.-Colonel W. Dunlop."

On January 1st, 1830, the two Regiments were again joined into one, which was designated as heretofore "The Bengal European Regiment"; but the officers continued in two separate cadres for promotion. Each company was to consist of 5 serjeants, 5 corporals, 2 drummers, 80 privates.

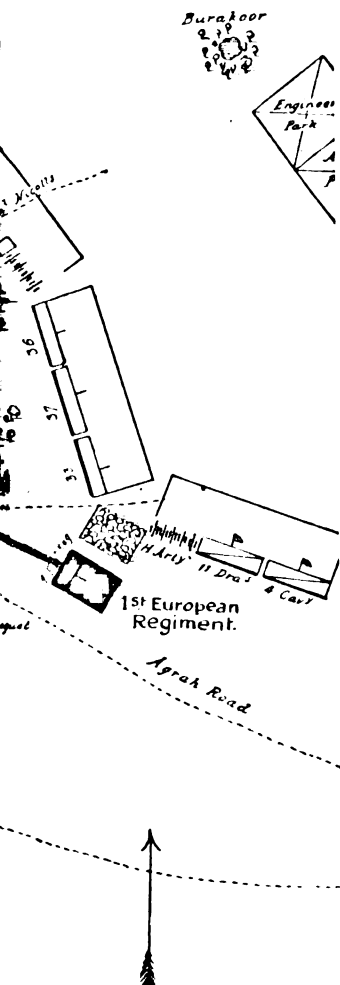
In 1831 the Regiment moved from Agra to Dinapore, and in 1835 it proceeded to Meerut.

On September 1st, 1838, the organization of the Regiment was again altered, the following establishment being sanctioned:—1 colonel, 2 lieutenant-colonels, 2 majors, 10 captains, 16 lieutenants, 8 ensigns, 2 surgeons, 2 assistant-surgeons, 1 serjeant-major, 1 quartermaster-serjeant, 1 schoolmaster-serjeant, 1 drum-major, 1 fife-major, 1 drill-serjeant, 1 drill-corporal, 40 serjeants, 40 corporals, 20 drummers, 650 privates.



# INVESTMENT OF BHURTPUR

Morning of 18th Jan



From  
"Siege and Capture  
by  
Captain J. N. C.

The promotion of the officers of the right and left wings of the Regiment, which continued from the amalgamation of the 1st and 2nd Regiments until a 2nd Regiment was again formed on July 29th, 1839, was so involved that it was found impossible to separate them without causing great injustice. Under the orders regulating the promotion of the officers of the two wings, no wing officer could receive substantive promotion until his parallel officer in the other wing had been promoted. Under the working of this order, a captain had commanded the Regiment whilst a major was present and on duty. It was said that no one outside the Regiment understood the working of this Government Order, and very few of those affected by it could explain its effects.

As early as 1817 the Government had turned its attention to watching the north-west frontier of India, and had sent political missions to Cabul for the purpose of counteracting the intrigues of Russia in Afghan territory. In 1837, as a result of the report of a mission under Captain A. Burnes, a triple alliance was formed to restore Shah Shuja-ul-Mulk, who had sought the protection of the British, to his throne, and thus secure the goodwill of a powerful ally. Some time previously, owing to dissensions, Shah Shuja-ul-Mulk had been deposed, and Dost Mohammed had succeeded to the Afghan throne.

The alliance was made between the East India Company, the Maharaja Runjit Sing, and Shah Shuja-ul-Mulk, and the treaty was  
**Campaign in** ratified at Lahore in June, 1838. "The Army of the Indus"  
**Afghanistan.** was formed on a scale suitable to the important objects which it was to attain, the Bengal portion consisting of a siege train, European horse and field artillery, British and native cavalry, and five brigades of infantry; the Fourth Brigade, under Lieut.-Colonel A. Roberts, of the Regiment, being composed of the Regiment, under Lieut.-Colonel Joseph Orchard, C.B., and the 35th and 37th Native Infantry Regiments, with Captain Taylor and Lieutenant Gerrard, both of the Regiment, as Brigade-Major and A.D.C. respectively.

The advance towards Afghanistan was made in five columns, the 4th Brigade, under Major-General Duncan, being the last to leave Ferozepore.

On December 29th the army reached Bahawalpore, 229 miles from Ferozepore, in eighteen marches, attended by 38,000 camp followers and 30,000 camels as transport, and on January 24th reached Bhakkar on the River Indus; the 4th Infantry Brigade was ordered to remain there to help in the construction of the bridge of seventy-four boats. Lieut.-General Sir John Keane assumed command of "the Army of the Indus; the infantry of the Bengal column was called the 1st Infantry Division, and placed under Major-General Sir W. Cotton, K.C.B.

On February 15th the headquarters of the 1st Infantry Division was established on the right bank of the Indus, and on the 19th it reached



Shikarpore, joining Shah Shuja's contingent there, the advanced force numbering over 15,000 men.

On the 25th the Brigade left Shikarpore and reached Dadur, a small town at the entrance of the Bolan pass, 146 miles from Shikarpore, on March 10th, after the greatest difficulties, a desert of twenty-six miles having been crossed, where the thermometer reached 98° in the shade, and where there was no water for troops or cattle.

On March 16th the column entered the Bolan pass, and though the temperature was lower and good water plentiful, the march through the pass is described by General George Warren, then an officer in the Regiment, as if having been made by an army "retreating under every disaster, public stores and private property lying about scattered and abandoned in every direction."

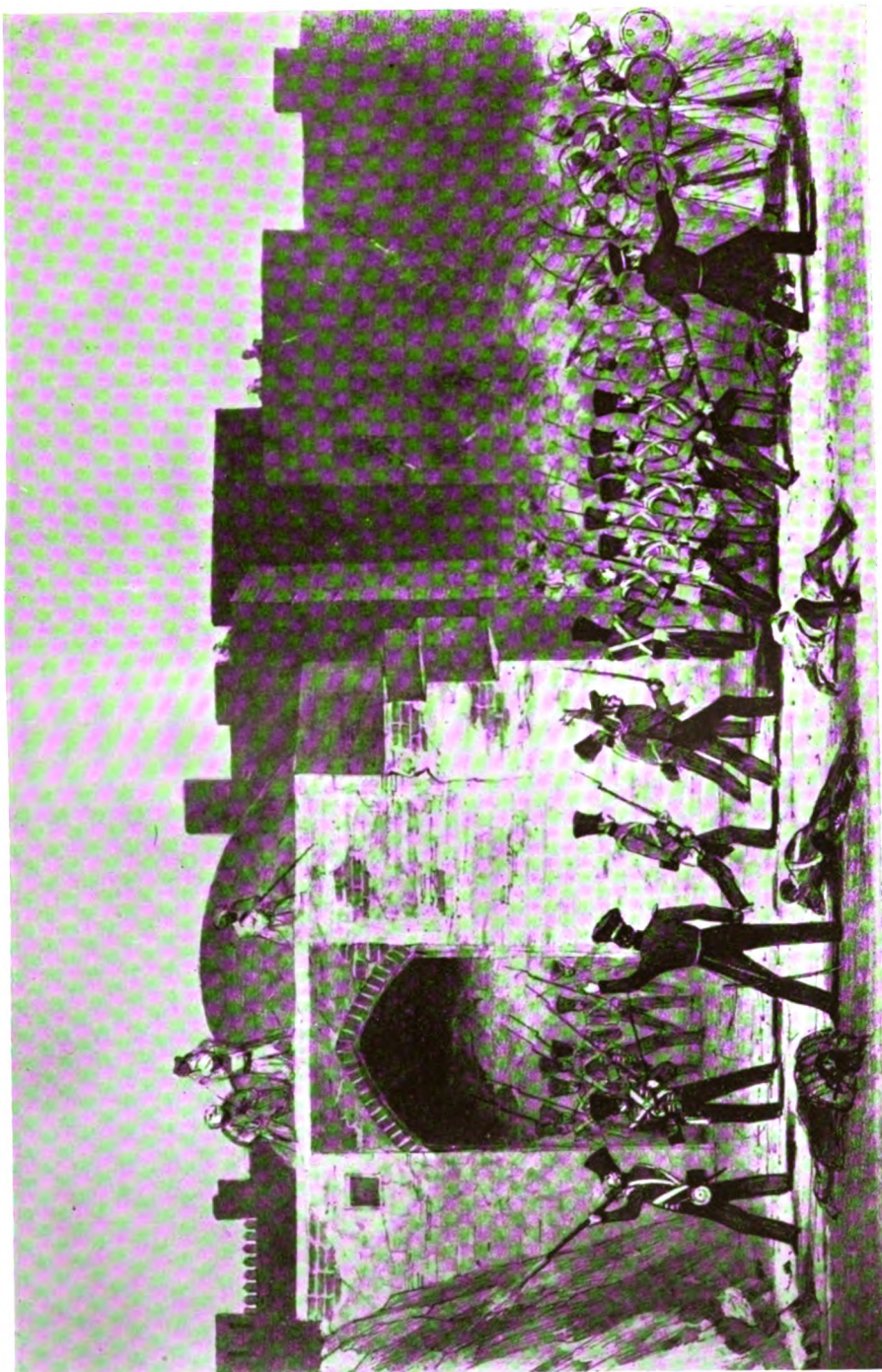
Fortunately the passage of the troops was unopposed, and Quetta was reached on March 26th. Here the cold caused as much suffering to the troops as the heat had previously and, as much of the baggage, including the blankets, had been abandoned in the pass, the men suffered greatly from cold at nights.

On April 6th General Sir John Keane established his headquarters at Quetta and ordered a general advance on Candahar. The march between Quetta and Candahar was one of privations and terrible sufferings : insufficient food and absence of water caused much loss of life, and the miseries endured by the troops and cattle passes all description. Under these circumstances the greatest difficulties were experienced in transporting the heavy guns, the draft cattle being starved and exhausted were quite unequal to the task, and the guns had to be dragged up and lowered down by manual labour. The road over the Khojak Heights rises steadily for a distance of over a mile, and the Regiment was employed in transporting the heavy guns and ammunition : the officers of the Regiment working with their men for four consecutive days at the drag-ropes, from sunrise to sunset.

The headquarters reached Candahar on April 26th, but the 4th Brigade and heavy guns did not arrive till the 30th. The Bengal column had marched 1,005 miles under circumstances of the greatest difficulty and privation, and had been on half rations for twenty-eight days : food for man and beast was still insufficient.

On May 8th Shah Shuja-ul-Mulk was installed as Amir of Afghanistan at Candahar by General Sir John Keane, and Dost Mohammed was proclaimed a usurper.

On May 10th the army commenced its march towards Ghuznee, but, owing to the state of the draft cattle, the troops had to be again placed on half rations, and the siege train was ordered to remain at Candahar ; in spite of being surrounded by pilferers, who kept them constantly on the alert, the troops marched cheerfully onwards, and nothing worthy of notice occurred until the army on July 21st arrived in the vicinity of Ghuznee, 290 miles from Candahar, and 90 miles from Cabul.



THE STORMING OF GHUZNEE, 1839.



On the 22nd the Light Company of the Regiment was out reconnoitring.

**Capture of  
Ghuznee.**

A careful reconnaissance showed that Ghuznee was almost impregnable, and, in addition, there was the citadel, in itself a fort of considerable strength. The British force fit for duty was about 800 men, in addition to which was Shah Shuja's contingent of about 4,000 men; the artillery consisted of 40 guns, of which 18 were light field-pieces.

Sir John Keane decided that, as it was out of the question to await the arrival of the siege train, owing to the advance of a force from Cabul to the help of Ghuznee, a *coup de main* must be made, and at midnight on July 23rd the British army was astir. The night was stormy and the wind so boisterous that the enemy failed to notice the movements of the troops. A detachment of native infantry was sent to a position in the gardens south of the town to make a false attack and attract the notice of the garrison from the real attack. The Engineers who formed the "explosion party" advanced silently towards the Cabul gate of the city, carrying with them bags containing 300 pounds of powder, and had not advanced more than a few hundred yards when they were observed by the enemy's sentries. Hastening forward under a severe fire from the ramparts, the party successfully placed the powder in position, and retired under any cover they could find; in a few minutes the charge exploded, blowing the gate and some of the surrounding buildings to atoms.

The storming party, under command of Brigadier-General Sale, C.B., was divided into an "advance party" and "main party," and the advance party consisted of the light companies of the Regiment, Her Majesty's 2nd and 17th Foot, and a flank company of Her Majesty's 13th Light Infantry. The light companies, dashing for the ruins of the gate, met with strong opposition; a galling musketry and grape fire was poured on them as they charged, but after a desperate resistance the enemy were driven back amongst the ruins of the gate. Here the enemy made another desperate stand, the light companies again and again charging the masses, until the enemy finally gave way, and the advance party, with a cheer and a final charge, mounted the ruins. The enemy were not beaten yet, however, and, forming two parties, made a fierce attack on both flanks of the advance. At this critical moment the main party, which consisted of the remaining companies of the Regiment under Colonel Orchard, and the remaining companies of Her Majesty's 2nd Regiment, with Her Majesty's 17th Regiment in support, and the remainder of the 13th Light Infantry formed as skirmishers on the flanks, arrived in support, and used their bayonets with such effect that the advance of the troops was actually impeded by heaps of dead, as well as by the débris round the ruined gate.

This success had not been secured without terrible losses: Brigadier-General Sale was severely wounded in the face, and the wounded of the light company of the Regiment included its three officers—Lieutenants W. Broadfoot, E. Magnay, and W. K. Haslewood—as well as 30 rank and file.

The main opposition at the Gate having now been overcome, the bugles sounded the advance, and, as had been previously ordered, Her Majesty's 13th and 17th Regiments took the road to their right towards the Citadel, whilst the Regiment and Her Majesty's 2nd Regiment took the road to their left.

The route taken by the Regiment was through narrow streets, the houses on each side being filled with Afghans who fired on the Regiment as it advanced ; and, in addition, the streets were occupied by the enemy, who stoutly contested the passage of the troops. Two hours were occupied by the Regiment in fighting their way towards the Candahar Gate, when suddenly the Colours of the 13th and 17th were seen flying on the walls of the Citadel above, and the enemy were seen rushing down the slope trying to escape. The Regiment was still employed in forcing its way along the street, when Major Warren, the second-in-command, was struck in three places and fell severely wounded. The caps of almost all were riddled owing to the enemy firing high from the houses.

The Afghans now became thoroughly demoralized and fled in all directions ; their loss will never be known, but 500 bodies were found and 1,500 men taken prisoners.

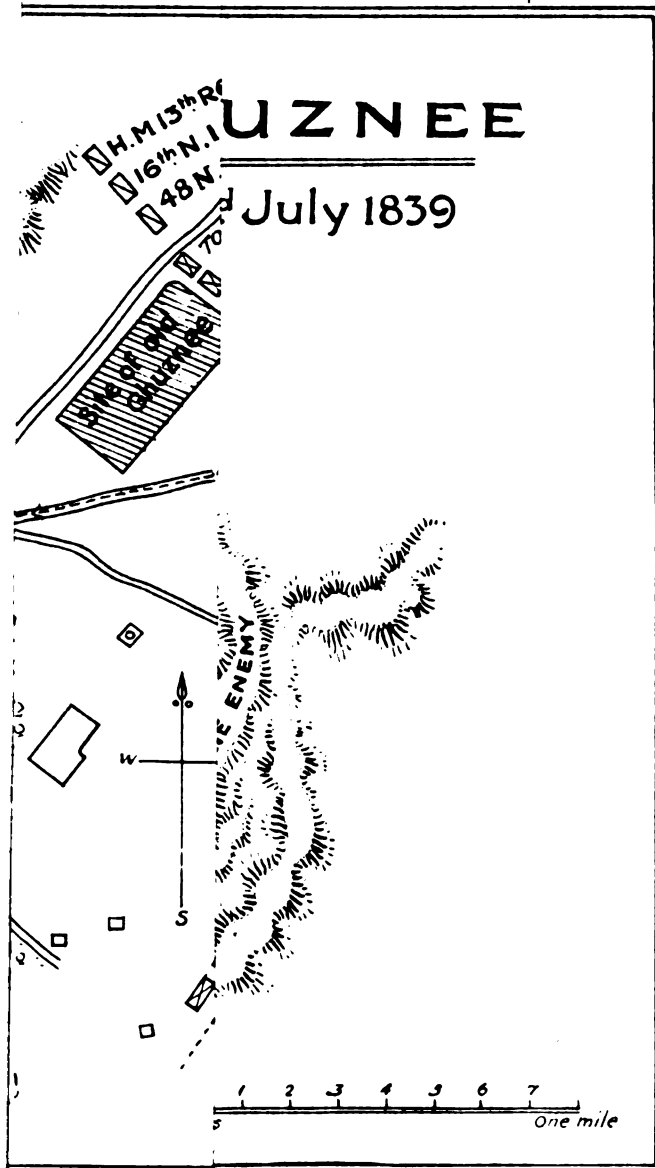
Hyder Khan, the Governor of Ghuznee, was bayoneted, and would have lost his life if he had not surrendered to Captain A. W. Taylor, of the Regiment, who happened to be near at hand.

The Regiment had only one rank and file killed, and it is remarkable that throughout the British Army the number of killed during the siege was very small in proportion to the wounded—viz., 17 men killed, and 18 officers and 147 men wounded : the wounded were Lieut.-Colonel Joseph Orchard, C.B., commanding ; Major George Warren ; Captains W. E. Hay, A. W. Taylor ; Lieutenants W. Broadfoot, W. K. Haslewood, J. Fagan, E. Magnay ; Ensign G. O. Jacob ; and 51 rank and file.

Major Warren was wounded in three places, the upper part of his left wrist being carried away by a shot, a second striking his left breast, and a third entering the upper part of his right arm, in which he had received a severe sabre cut at the capture of Bhurtpore on January 18th, 1826 ; Major Warren was afterwards appointed by Lord Auckland, Town Major of Fort William, as a special reward for his services on this occasion.

Lieutenant Haslewood was cut down soon after the advance party had got into the Fortress ; he succeeded in shooting the first man who attacked him, but was immediately afterwards surrounded by the enemy, who inflicted five sabre wounds of great severity—the first on the head, which felled him to the ground, where he lay half unconscious. They then hacked him with their tulwars, cutting through his right scapula, another wound crossing this ; and, in addition, his right thigh was nearly severed at the joint. At this critical moment Private Kelly, of his own company, rushed to his assistance and bayoneted his assailant. It was not thought that he would ever recover the use

Map No 14.





of his leg or arm, but after a long convalescence he did so, and was rewarded for his services by Lord Auckland, who placed him on his personal staff; he was, however, afterwards invalided on account of his wounds.

Mention must also be made of the valuable services rendered to the Regiment by its indefatigable surgeon, Dr. G. Paton, who, though suffering from a painful illness, was ever at his post, rendering medical aid to both officers and men, who were suffering as much from diseases peculiar to the country as from the chances of war.

A few days' rest was now allowed to the troops, who on July 30th continued their march to Cabul, and on August 7th the Amir Shah Shuja made a public entry into his capital. Dost Mohammed, the ex-Amir, fled from the city on the approach of the British, and a force was dispatched in pursuit, Captain A. W. Taylor and Lieutenant W. Broadfoot, of the Regiment, serving with this detachment; but the ex-Amir escaped for the time.

On September 17th the Amir held a grand durbar for the purpose of conferring the Order of the Duranee Empire. The following officers of the Regiment received the Order:—Brigadier-General A. Roberts, C.B., who had commanded the Amir's forces during the campaign, was created a Member of the 2nd Class; Lieut.-Colonel Joseph Orchard, C.B., Major Thomson and Major G. Warren were made Members of the 3rd Class; a Brevet Lieutenant-Colonelcy was also conferred on Major Warren, dated July 23rd.

Orders were issued on October 9th for the breaking up of "the Army of the Indus," but three of the brigades remained in Afghanistan—one at Candahar, one at Cabul, and one at Jellalabad; the 4th Brigade, of which the Regiment formed part, was ordered to Jellalabad.

A General Order had been published on July 29th ordering the embodiment of the 2nd Bengal European Regiment, and volunteers from the Regiment were called for to form the nucleus of the 2nd Regiment, on the breaking up of "the Army of the Indus."

The Government now seemed disinclined to withdraw the army and relinquish the power they had obtained over the Afghan country. In consequence a hostile feeling arose, and scarcely had the 1st Europeans taken up their quarters at Jellalabad before one of the discontented chiefs named Syad Husain, at the head of a considerable force, took up his position in the fort of Pooshut, about fifty miles from Jellalabad.

Lieut.-Colonel Orchard, C.B., commanding the Regiment, was ordered to proceed with a company of the Regiment, under Captain Thomas Box, and a small native force with three guns and dislodge the rebels.

On January 18th, 1840, the British detachment arrived in the vicinity of the Fort. The march to Pooshut had been performed under very trying circumstances, a constant downpour of rain saturating the roads and drenching the troops, the cold being intense, and violent storms rendering progress difficult. On taking up position, the field-guns opened fire on the walls of the Fort. A practicable breach was

**Capture of  
Pooshut.**



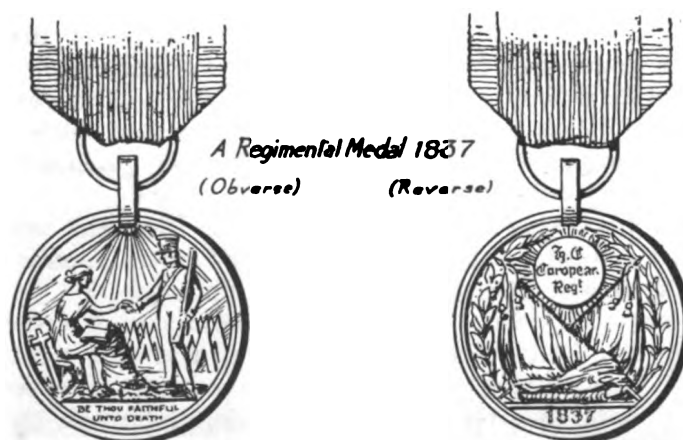
effected, and Captain Box, with his company and some sepoy, forming the storming party, effected an entrance ; but it soon became apparent that the breach had been made in the outer works only, and that the inner fortifications could not be carried without scaling ladders or blasting operations.

At this time, by some mistake, one of the buglers sounded the " Advance," which indicated to the outer force that the way into the Fort was clear. On hearing the signal, the rest of the besiegers pushed forward, and thus the outer works became dangerously crowded and the troops exposed to a heavy fire from the walls of the Fort. An attempt was made to blow in the inner gate, but the powder was damp and refused to ignite ; still, notwithstanding that the explosion party were exposed to considerable danger, a second attempt was made to blow open the gate, but again the powder failed.

Having been exposed during these operations to a severe cross-fire for several hours in heavy rain, Colonel Orchard ordered the troops to retire. The officers and men had manifested the greatest gallantry and resolution under difficult and disheartening circumstances ; the loss was considerable, Lieutenant Hicks, of the Regiment, being mortally wounded, 19 men killed and 48 wounded. The enemy evacuated the Fort during the night of January 19th, taking with them all their valuables, whereupon Colonel Orchard occupied the Fort, and remained with his troops at Pooshut until February 16th, when they returned to Jellalabad.

During its homeward march the Regiment learned with satisfaction that, under instructions received from the Court of Directors it had been rewarded for its services in the Afghan campaign by being formed into light infantry, and was henceforth, by General Order No. 244 of 1840, to be designated the " 1st Bengal European Light Infantry," and to be armed and equipped as such.

Roll of Officers serving with the Regiment in 1840 is shown in Appendix " T," pp. 237, 238.



These Regimental Medals were given by the Colonel, or the Officers, and were superseded by the Medal for Long Service and Good Conduct officially instituted in 1848.

## CHAPTER VI

### SIKH WAR—BATTLES OF FEROZESHAH—SOBRAON.

*Reference Map No. 15. Page 130.*

ON its arrival in India, the Regiment went into quarters at Kurnaul, a new station built on a scale of grandeur hitherto unknown in India ; but it was soon found to be unhealthy, and the troops were moved to Umballa ; but heavy pecuniary losses fell upon the officers of Regiments stationed at Kurnaul, as they had all expended large sums on the erection of houses, etc.

Towards the end of October the Amir of Afghanistan, Shah Shuja, was murdered, and on November 2nd Sir Alexander Burnes and his staff met the same fate in the Residency at Cabul.

Amongst the staff officers who fell on this occasion was Lieutenant William Broadfoot, of the Regiment. Thornton, in his "History of the British Empire," Vol. VI, p. 253, says that Lieutenant Broadfoot was an "officer whom all reports unite in eulogizing, and whose life was dearly paid for by his assailants, six of whom met destruction from his hand before it was paralysed by death."

Two days afterwards, near Char-ee-kar, fell another promising young officer of the Regiment, Ensign Ed. W. Salusbury, who had been specially selected for service with the Amir Shah Shuja's contingent. Ensign Salusbury, who was desperately wounded at Lughman whilst fighting bravely against overwhelming numbers near the military post of Char-ee-kar, died of his wounds the same night.

Cabul and Ghuznee were temporarily lost to the British, and the British brigade, under General Elphinstone, was annihilated in attempting to force its way from Cabul to Jellalabad. The honour of the British Army was fully vindicated and avenged later on by the gallant and victorious march of General Nott from Candahar and that of General Pollock from Jellalabad. Captain John G. Gerrard, of the Regiment, served in the defence of Jellalabad against Abkar Khan, April 7th, 1842, when he was severely wounded ; he also served with General Pollock's force on its victorious march.

In June, an "Army of Reserve" was ordered to be formed at Ferozepore to act, in case of need, as a relieving force to the "Army of Occupation" on its return march from Afghanistan. Lieut.-Colonel Orchard was appointed Brigadier of the 1st (or Light) Brigade of the Army Reserve, and in this brigade was his own regiment, the 1st Bengal European Light Infantry. On the return of General Pollock's victorious army to British territory, the "Army of Reserve" was broken up, and the Regiment was ordered to Subathu, where

early in February, 1845, Lieut.-Colonel P. R. Innes, the author of "The History of the Bengal European Regiment (now the Royal Munster Fusiliers) and how it helped to win India," joined the Regiment as a boy of eighteen years of age.

In the early part of the year 1845 the Regiment was, in point of physique, discipline, and smartness, second to none in the British Service. Amongst its rank and file there were many service-scarred, grey-haired soldiers, who had passed twenty years in its ranks; men whose lead the younger soldiers were prepared to follow, and whose example they would emulate. Field-Marshal Lord Napier of Magdala, speaks of the appearance of the Regiment at this time as glorious. He says:—"I saw it stand on parade at Subathu in 1845 close on a thousand strong, and after the battles of the Sutlej Campaign it mustered on parade at Lahore two hundred and fifty. The rest were killed and wounded."

At this time the Regiment was commanded by that grand old soldier, Lieut.-Colonel Joseph Orchard, C.B., a rigid disciplinarian, but a kind-hearted, just man; essentially the young soldiers' friend, whom he was ever ready to assist with advice and kindly aid. Colonel Orchard had joined the Regiment early in the century, his experience and services extending back to some of the greatest victories in Indian history.

It was during the middle of 1845 that Colonel Orchard took leave of absence to England, and was succeeded in the command of the Regiment by Major David Birrell.

Lord Ellenborough, before his recall in 1844, had foreseen the gathering of a storm in the direction of the North-West Frontier, and had already massed troops at Umballa, and increased the British force at Ferozepore to meet the attack which he expected from the Punjab; on his recall, however, his policy

**Sikh War.** was abandoned, and in consequence, when the Sikh Army crossed the Sutlej, in defiance of treaties and at a time of peace, and invaded British territory on December 11th, it was enabled to entrench itself strongly around the village of Ferozeshah before reliable information reached the Government of the unprovoked invasion.

At Subathu the excitement was intense; it was felt that a sudden move might be ordered at any moment.

At 9 p.m. on December 10th, whilst the officers were at mess, an orderly from Headquarters galloped in hot haste up to the door of the mess-house, and delivered a despatch to the Commanding Officer, directing the Regiment to prepare immediately for active service, marching as soon as arrangements could be completed. Not a moment was lost. The officers proceeded at once to the barracks, aroused their men, and ordered them to prepare for their march, and at ten o'clock the next morning the Regiment was in full march to Kalka, a distance of nineteen miles across the hills.

Lieutenant Williamson was left in charge of the station and depot, and Ensign Hamilton, who was on the sick list, was also left at Subathu with the regimental hospital, which contained about sixty men. The men of the

Regiment were full of excitement and in the highest spirits at the prospect of the coming campaign.

On arrival at Kasauli the Regiment learnt that Her Majesty's 29th Regiment had also marched on the same morning, and it was understood that the two regiments were to serve in the same division in the coming campaign.

The commissariat arrangements were perfect, for on arrival at the foot of the hills the camp was found already pitched, food abundant, and every reasonable comfort prepared for the men.

On December 12th Her Majesty's 29th Regiment, which had been ordered to halt at Munnymarjera, was joined by the Regiment ; and the two regiments then advanced together towards Mudki in charge of some heavy artillery for the army. The regiments made double marches daily, leaving camp at about 2 a.m., halting for breakfast at about 7 a.m., and after a rest of some two or three hours marching to the new ground, which was usually reached about 2 p.m., thus covering from twenty-five to forty miles daily.

On approaching Wudni, a fortified town of some importance, much excitement was caused by the receipt of an order from the Commander-in-Chief to the effect that, as the inhabitants of that place had refused provisions to the British force on its forward march a few days previous, the Regiment and Her Majesty's 29th were to reduce the Fort to submission. But when the troops arrived nearer Wudni a countermanding despatch arrived, ordering that as the rival armies faced each other, and an immediate action was anticipated, they were to push on to the front with all possible speed.

Disappointed as were the men at not being allowed to try their strength on the Fort of Wudni, they still gave many hearty cheers as they passed under its walls, their excitement being greatly increased when, as they advanced, they heard the distant sounds of heavy artillery. This sound was, indeed, a proclamation that the war had now commenced, and fears were entertained that they might arrive too late to take a share in the battle, which in all probability was at that very time raging in front.

Louder and nearer became the constant roar of the artillery as the regiments pushed eagerly on.

In the afternoon the welcome intelligence was received that the victory of Mudki had been gained by the British troops ; and later on the Regiment were assured that their exertions to reach Headquarters were, notwithstanding the excitement of the battle, fully recognized both by the Governor-General and the Commander-in-Chief, elephants being sent twenty-seven miles on the road to bring in the footsore men, and a string of camels laden with fresh water for the relief of the thirsty troops on their march.

Towards dusk on December 19th, the day after the Battle of Mudki had been fought, the Regiment neared the British camp, the Governor-General sending out his band to welcome and play them into camp. The baggage and tents of the Regiment were far behind, and the Quartermaster-General had not yet marked out the position where the newly arrived regiments were to

pitch their tents. The men were much fatigued with their forced marches, but were all excitement to learn the details of the battle fought on the previous day ; and they were, therefore, allowed to visit their friends who had been engaged in the action, and from whom they learnt the details of the Battle of Mudki.

The British troops had gained a victory, the Sikh Army having been driven back again to Ferozeshah, and seventeen guns had been captured, but the British had lost 872 in killed and wounded, amongst the latter being Lieutenant Herbert Edwardes, of the Regiment, who was serving on the Commander-in-Chief's Staff.

The next day, December 20th, was one of rest.

In the evening, at dinner, written orders were placed in the hands of the captains, instructing them to proceed silently with their officers to the men's tents at 1 a.m. next morning, as the whole Regiment was to be on parade an hour after the time named.

**Battle of  
Ferozeshah.**

An attack was to be made on the enemy's position. As soon as the servants had left the mess-tent, the officers talked freely amongst themselves of the engagement which was to be fought on the following morning ; one of them only, Captain Thomas Box—"Jerry" Box, as he was familiarly called—showing a total absence of any excitement or emotion. Box had proved himself in many a fight a fearless soldier, and was beloved by his men, but on this night he was in low spirits, and being questioned as to the cause he simply said : "I feel I shall get a shot right slap in the face." This remark caused some merriment, for all knew Captain Box to be constitutionally brave, and no one believed in presentiment.

After a few hours' sleep, the officers—who were forbidden to give any order to their servants to wake them—were seen moving noiselessly amongst their men, and enjoining silence as they accoutred and prepared for parade. Each man was instructed to fill his can with water, a piece of bread and ready-cooked meat were served out to be carried in the haversacks, and sixty rounds of ball ammunition were issued to each man.

At 2 a.m., on December 21st, the Regiment was on parade, and before three o'clock the whole army was in position.

The march commenced over the field of Mudki, which was still strewn with the dead ; many having been frightfully mutilated since the battle.

The sun, although it was the cold season, was in the middle of the day intensely hot. It was the object of the Commander-in-Chief that a junction of his army with the Ferozepore Division, under Sir John Littler, should if possible be effected, and the two forces met at 2 p.m. about five miles to the south-west of the enemy's position at Ferozeshah. The troops now took up their respective positions, but for some unaccountable reason the principal attack was ordered to be made on the west face of the Sikh entrenchments fronting towards Ferozepore, although it ought to have been known that this was the strongest part of the defences. The entrenchments were in the form

of a parallelogram, of about a mile in length and half a mile in width, the east side facing the open country, and included within its enceinte the village of Ferozeshah.

The force of the enemy within the entrenchments has never been accurately ascertained, it having been given by different authorities at numbers varying from 30,000 to 70,000 men.

The British force in the field consisted of 63 guns and about 17,000 men.

At 3 p.m. the troops were in position for attack. General Sir John Littler's Division was on the extreme left, Brigadier Wallace's in the centre, and Major-General W. R. Gilbert's on the right ; Sir Harry Smith's Division and the cavalry in reserve forming a second line. The Regiment, with Her Majesty's 26th and 80th Regiments, was in General Gilbert's Division.

The left of the British line being ordered to lead the attack, first advanced, whilst the centre and right awaited their turn. At this time vedettes of the enemy's cavalry coming sometimes to within fifty yards of the line, the rifle company of the Regiment was sent to the front to skirmish and drive them back, which they did in good style.

The sound of a sharp musketry-fire to the left showed that Littler's Division were nearing the enemy ; then the division (Gilbert's) formed up to advance. At this time an officer arrived from the direction of Littler's Division reporting that the left attack had failed, and that these troops were retiring. The enemy were naturally triumphant, and their shouts could be heard above the roar of the artillery ; the order was then given for Gilbert's Division to advance rapidly. Major Birrell warned the men to reserve their fire until they sighted the enemy. Birrell, who commanded the Regiment, rode in the centre ; Captain Box, the second-in-command, on the right ; and Captain Douglas Seaton on the left ; Ensigns F. O. Salusbury and P. Moxon carrying the Colours.

As the line approached the enemy's entrenchments, the fire from their batteries increased in violence, the round-shot and grape tearing through the ranks and leaving considerable gaps. Here Captain Box received the shot he had foretold, which struck him "right slap in the face" ; a bullet passed through his head, and he fell from his horse stone dead. During this advance Captain Kendall, commanding No. 6, and Captain Clark, commanding No. 1 Company, both fell mortally wounded ; and Ensign Salusbury, his right arm deeply lacerated by a grape-shot, denuding the bone throughout its length, fell under the Queen's Colour, which was immediately taken by Ensign P. R. Innes, just as the orders were given to bring down the bayonets and charge home. In a few minutes the Regiment was right under the enemy's batteries, but the air was so filled with fire and smoke that it seemed to be as dark as night.

The sloping bank below the plateau upon which the Sikh batteries were mounted, was about ten feet high, measured from the bottom of the ditch, Surmounting this in a few seconds, the men were amongst the guns, and a desperate hand-to-hand fight ensued, in which the Sikh artillerymen were

bayonnetted to a man. The Sikh infantry were drawn up immediately behind the plateau, and about six feet below it.

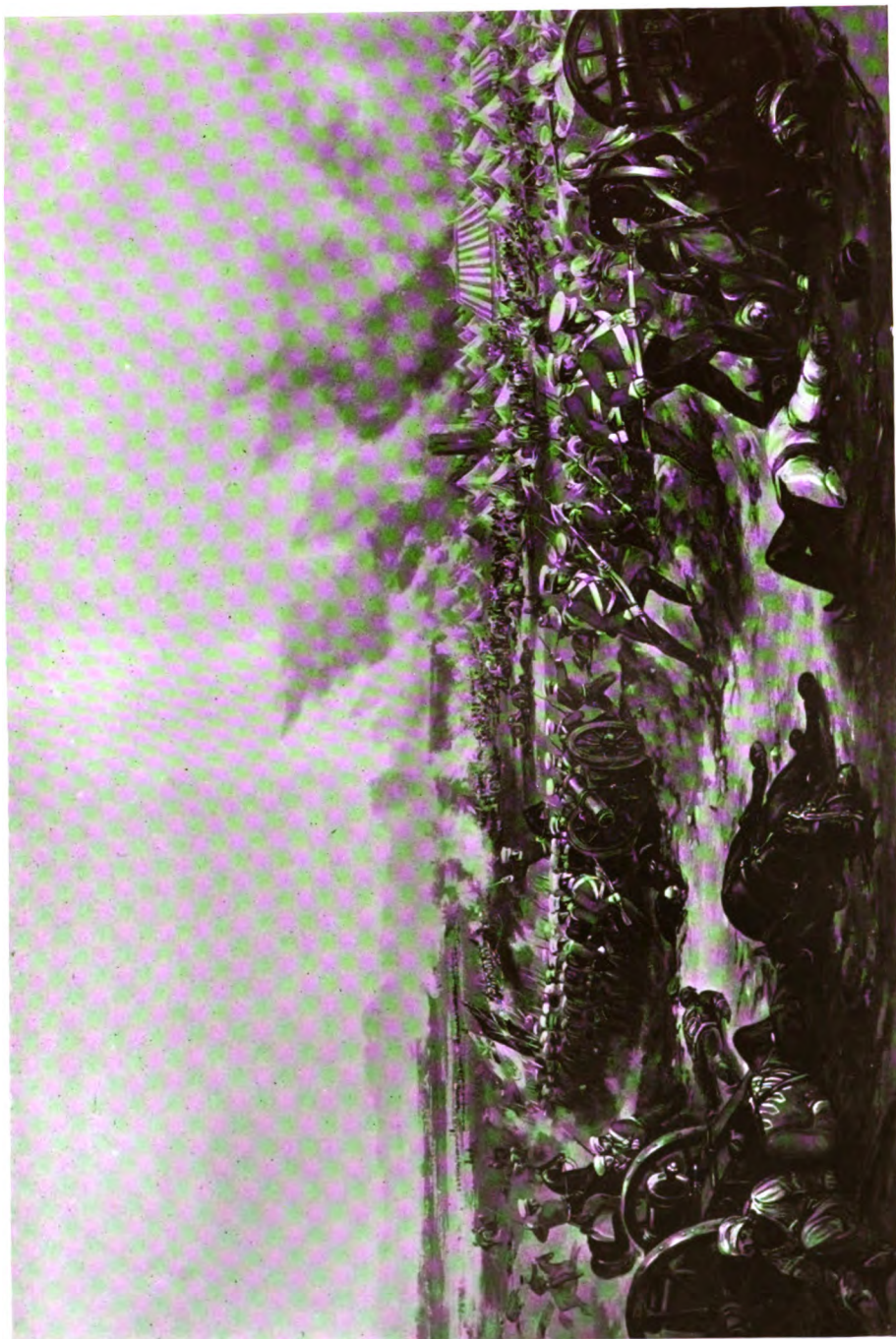
During the fight for the mastery of the guns the Sikh infantry had reserved their fire, as the British infantry and the Sikh artillerymen were completely intermingled. The British infantry now came under a galling fire for a few seconds, while they formed in line on the brink of the eminence, and prepared to dash down on the Sikh infantry below. Most of the front rank of the enemy dropped on one knee as if preparing to receive cavalry, and no charge of cavalry could have been more effective than that of the Regiment, as with a cheer they rushed down the incline upon the Sikhs below. The Sikhs first fired a volley, then, either throwing down their muskets or using them as shields, drew their tulwars and rushed forward to engage in a hand-to-hand fight with the British. The battle raged with fury along the whole line; groups of the enemy again and again dashing at the Regimental Colours, and more than once grasping the staves, but the colour-serjeants, closing up round them, formed an impenetrable wall, through which the Sikhs could not break. Soon the space below the plateau contained a mingled heap of dead and wounded men, but the Sikh infantry had given way, and seeking cover among their tents kept up a severe dropping fire upon the troops. Hard work still remained to be done, so wheeling round on its left, the Regiment joined Her Majesty's 9th Foot, already inside the entrenchments, attacked the Sikh batteries in flank, and rushing transversely along the defences forced the enemy back in broken masses, whilst their guns on the ramparts were captured and spiked. Before the troops left Mudki, every fifth man of the Regiment had been supplied with a bundle of spikes and a small hammer—a very necessary precaution.

Orders were now issued for the Regiment to charge along the centre camp-street of the Sikhs and secure the village of Ferozeshah. The men, encouraged by their success, gallantly carried out these orders, but they had not proceeded for more than two hundred yards when they heard a frightful roar, the ground heaved beneath their feet, and the men in the vicinity were blown away amongst the tents. The air was filled with fire, and a dense smoke arose, which, as it cleared away, exposed to view a horrible and appalling scene; a large land mine had been fired, and numbers of the men had fallen frightfully burnt and mutilated, in some instances the ignition of their pouches caused terrible wounds, agony, and loss of life.

It is recorded that the explosion of this "one magazine in particular rent the 1st European Light Infantry in twain."

The Regiment was now scattered in every direction, about 150 men only joining the Colours after the explosion, which was followed by that of smaller mines, which added to the confusion, but were comparatively harmless. The line was at length re-formed, and advanced towards the village, but it returned to the central street on finding that the village was already in the possession of the British. After the great explosion numbers of the men of the Regiment,





FEROZESHAH, DECEMBER 21ST, 1845.





detached and scattered by the convulsion and disorder, were collected by Captain D. Seaton, and forming a party fell in with Sir Harry Smith's reserve division, just after it had entered the camp, and accompanied it into the village.

The men, now parched with thirst, sought water from a well near at hand, but came under a galling fire from the enemy concealed amongst the tents. Across a camp-street facing this well a barricade had been formed of half-burnt tents and debris, and behind this barricade a group of Sikhs brought their fire to bear direct upon the well, where several of the men had fallen ; others, nevertheless, pressing forward and seizing the tin pots from their wounded comrades, preferring the immediate prospect of death to the fearful torture of thirst.

Lieutenant Greville was now the senior officer present with the Colours, and therefore assumed command ; forming his men into two divisions, and placing the Colours in the centre, he gallantly led the charge against the barricade. During the advance the enemy's fire had almost ceased, but as the men approached the barricade a volley was suddenly poured in upon them, which forced the whole party back upon the well. There was but a moment's pause ; the men were reforming for a second charge, when it was realized that the Regimental Colour had disappeared. Without waiting for orders Ensign P. R. Innes returned alone to the barricade, in front of which lay Ensign Philip Moxon's body, quite dead, he having fallen upon the Colour, which was saturated with his blood. On the Colour, which now hangs on the walls of Winchester Cathedral, the bloodstains of this brave young officer may still be seen.

Ensign P. R. Innes, in spite of a severe fire, gallantly recovered and brought the Colour back in safety ; the men of the Regiment hailing its restoration with shouts of joy. An extract from a letter from the Officer Commanding states that : " The recovery of the Colour by Ensign Innes was most important, as otherwise it must have fallen into the hands of the Sikhs."

Greville, having formed his men, gallantly led them to a second charge, clearing the street, and this time capturing the barricade. Amidst the excitement which had prevailed during these operations, it had not been perceived that it had suddenly become almost dark ; in spite of this, the men still charged on, clearing the burning tents of every lurking enemy, but the darkness increasing the " Assembly " was sounded, and the men collected together, when it was discovered, to everyone's dismay, that the Queen's Colour, which after Moxon's death had been handed to Colour-Serjeant Higgins, was nowhere to be seen.

Just then an aide-de-camp came up with orders from the General for all the scattered detachments in the enemy's camp to collect on the plain outside. Every bugler, both in and outside the entrenchments, sounded his regimental call, making the previous confusion worse confounded.

Lieutenant Greville now ordered his men to recross the entrenchments which had been captured a few hours previous with so much sacrifice of life, and in the darkness the party groped their way towards the direction in which they thought they could distinguish their regimental call frequently repeated ; and, after a full hour's search, the main portion of the Regiment was found rapidly collecting its scattered men, and forming up for further action. It was now discovered, to the satisfaction of all, that the Queen's Colour which had been entrusted to Colour-Serjeant Higgens, was at the quarter-guard, he, having heard his regimental call, had, accompanied by some stragglers, reached the Regiment and deposited his charge in safety.

The Sikhs discovering that the British had retired at once reoccupied the entire original position under cover of the darkness. In the early morning the Sikhs brought one of their heaviest guns to bear on Gilbert's Division with such deadly effect that all the troops were ordered to lie down.

Sir Henry Hardinge, who commanded the right wing, called upon the Regiment and Her Majesty's 80th Foot, at this time close at hand, to "go and stop that gun."

These regiments were anxious to be on the move, having been painfully cramped by the cold sand ; and now, eagerly springing to their feet, were rapidly formed in line, and advanced at the double, Her Majesty's 80th Foot leading, and the Regiment in support. The big gun, said to be a 50-pounder, was protected by a strong force of Sikh infantry, who, finding themselves attacked by a force of unknown strength, threw forward their supports, who at once opened a sharp fire.

The two lines of fire steadily approached each other in the dark ; whilst the big gun in front poured forth double charges of grape shot. As the British infantry neared their enemy, there was a forward rush, a hand-to-hand struggle, and the big gun was spiked. No attempt could be made to remove either the big gun or those which had been captured at the same time in a battery close by, but they were all spiked, and the troops returned to their former position. This incident is described in the Commander-in-Chief's despatch as : "The gun was captured by as brave a charge as there is on record."

Soon afterwards the day began to dawn, and there was now no doubt how seriously the British strength had been reduced. At daybreak, the European portion of the British force was assembled opposite to the southern face of the enemy's camp, and in the bright light of the morning it was clear that the guns in the enemy's works had been captured and many of them spiked. The Sikh infantry had again occupied the entrenchments, bidding defiance to the troops as they formed in line preparatory to making their final charge ; the Commander-in-Chief leading the right, and Hardinge the left wing of the army. The "Advance" was now sounded, and the charge was delivered with a gallantry never surpassed on any field ; the Sikh entrenchments being again captured at the point of the bayonet, and the enemy again driven

completely through his camp into the jungles to the north. The eastern face of the entrenchments, which had been obstinately held by the enemy, on the previous day, was captured, as well as the village, from which the reserve division had been forced to retire during the night.

To quote Sir Henry Hardinge again: "The British infantry quite reminded me of the glorious days of the Peninsula."

The British troops were drawn up in line to the north of the captured camp, and as the Commanders rode along the front of their victorious army, they were loudly cheered.

Many of the officers and men had rejoined the ranks, tattered, torn, exhausted, and more or less bleeding, but in the best of spirits, and joining in many a joke at their own dishevelled plight.

Scarcely, however, had this cheering ceased, when the cavalry vedettes, who had been sent forward to watch the enemy's retreat, hastily returned, and reported that they had been confronted and driven back by a reserve Sikh army, coming from the direction of Ferozepore.

This second army, which far outnumbered the British force then confronting it in the field, was under the command of Tej Sing, the Sikh Commander-in-Chief, who had been watching the Ferozepore garrison with the intention of preventing it from forming a junction with the Commander-in-Chief's force marching from Mudki to Ferozeshah. Tej Sing had allowed Littler's Division to escape him and pass along the road unopposed, and he now hastened apparently to retrieve his error, and bring assistance to Lal Sing's retreating army.

It soon became evident that the artillery as well as the infantry ammunition was nearly expended. The centre of the force, in which was Gilbert's Division, now faced to the west, towards the fresh enemy; the right and left divisions, being at the same time thrown back, faced north and south; so that the army was formed into a large hollow square, with the view of preventing the recapture of the Sikh camp. The Sikh artillery, unlimbering, opened a heavy fire on the square, the British light field-guns being completely overmatched, and indeed, after they had fired a few rounds, the ammunition was found to be completely exhausted.

The enemy's fire was now doing terrible execution amongst the troops, and the men were consequently ordered to lie down in order to avoid the storm of round-shot, but the enemy had got the range.

Nos. 4 and 5 Companies suffered at this time most severely, some shots killing several men in No. 6, whilst three men in No. 5 Company, lying next each other, were killed; two of them by concussion of an 18-pound shot which fell amongst them, scattering to atoms the centre man. The position was almost unbearable. The troops, inactive, were simply waiting death, and an order was issued for the army to retire to the plain beyond. The Sikh troops were fresh, whilst the British were sinking from sheer exhaustion, having had no food except the scanty supply which they had brought with them in their

haversacks from Mudki. The Sikh artillery was well provided with ammunition ; the British guns were silent.

The infantry were now threatened on their right flank by hordes of cavalry, who emerged from the jungles skirting the plain.

Orders were again given by the Commander-in-Chief to change front, and the movements, performed in presence of the enemy's cavalry, were executed with creditable steadiness.

The British, by this last movement, faced to north in echelon of regiments, formed into squares four deep, and prepared to receive cavalry, though without any ammunition in pouch. It was now about 2 p.m., and the enemy's cavalry were not more than a hundred yards to the front, moving forward as if preparing to charge, but, whilst they hesitated, a rush of horsemen was suddenly heard to the rear. The 3rd Dragoons, terribly reduced in numbers, but not in courage, were coming to the succour of the infantry at full gallop, supported by two regiments of native cavalry. The Sikh cavalry did not recover the first shock of the charge, they being stationary, whilst the Dragoons came down upon them with their full force and weight. The enemy made a struggle to maintain his ground, but gradually gave way.

No sooner had the enemy's cavalry been broken and forced back into the jungle, than it was found that Tej Sing, with his whole force, was in full retreat, leaving the British complete masters of the field.

Thus ended the two days' battle of Ferozeshah, in which the enemy's fortified camp had been taken, with seventy-three of their guns. The victory had been dearly purchased, one-seventh of the British Army having fallen, 2,415 being the aggregate of the killed and wounded, amongst the former being 37 officers and 694 men. The loss of the enemy will never be known, but the entrenchments, etc., were strewn with their dead.

The Regiment lost 51 killed and 164 wounded, including the following 8 officers :—

Captain Thomas Box, killed.

Ensign Philip Moxon, killed.

Captain Charles Clark, mortally wounded.

Captain Bernard Kendall, mortally wounded.

Lieutenant R. W. H. Fanshawe, slightly wounded.

Lieutenant C. T. Beatson (Interpreter and Quartermaster), severely wounded.

Ensign Frederick O. Salusbury, severely wounded.

Ensign C. R. Wriford, slightly wounded.

During the afternoon of the 22nd, the men of the Regiment were employed in collecting the wounded who were temporarily housed in the village of Ferozeshah, where large quantities of bedding had been found. Up to this time these wounded had been sadly neglected, and Dr. W. L. McGregor, the

Roll of Officers serving in the Regiment in 1845 is shown in Appendix "T," p. 241.

surgeon of the Regiment, is loud in his condemnation of the medical arrangements. He says\*: "During the night of the 21st many a poor wounded European soldier found his way to the rear in search of medical aid, but the arrangements for affording it were very incomplete excepting through the efforts of the regimental surgeons who did everything in their power with the means at their command. As for the field hospital it had no existence, so confidently had the opinion been entertained that the Sikhs would not offer resistance, that it was deemed unnecessary to make any arrangements for a field hospital. There were no medical stores or surgical instruments on the field, except those attached to Regimental hospitals, and the hurry of the movements prevented any sufficient supply from being obtained without great delay."

Ensign F. O. Salusbury, having been severely wounded, as previously described, suffered greatly from exposure and exhaustion.

During the night his life was in danger from one of the enemy, who, whilst in the act of shooting the wounded and defenceless officer, was shot dead by a man of the Regiment with the Ensign's own pistol.

Lieutenant Beatson was found to have been shot in the abdomen, the ball having carried a portion of his woollen clothing deep into the wound; and these officers, with as many of the wounded men as could be collected, were tended during the night by Surgeon McGregor and his assistants, who were conspicuous by their zeal and careful attention.

Colonel Innes, in his History of the Regiment, states:—"There were two—Captain Box and Ensign Moxon—beyond the reach of the surgeon's skill. The happy, genial Thomas Box—the life of the mess-table, the man who had no enemy, who never spoke an unkind word—was gone to the unfeigned sorrow of all; and Ensign Moxon, whose death has been described, carrying the symbol of the Regiment's honour, which he so well sustained, leaving the impress of his heart's blood on his trust as lasting testimony of his brave and dauntless spirit."

It was now quite dark. The wants of the wounded were supplied; ample provisions and covering brought from the captured camp; fires were soon blazing round; and cattle, rudely slaughtered and cooked, were eagerly devoured by the half-starved troops.

Immediately after their defeat at Ferozeshah the Sikhs recrossed the Sutlej, near the village of Sobraon, and encamped on the right bank of the river below its junction with the Bias. Sir Hugh Gough was not able to follow up his success owing to want of ammunition, etc., and decided to wait the arrival of the Meerut force, and the heavy siege guns.

In the despatch dated December 22nd, 1845, from Lieut.-General Sir Henry Hardinge, G.C.B., to the Commander-in-Chief, he says: "I have personally reported to your Excellency my admiration of the conduct of Her Majesty's 80th Regiment, and the 1st European Light Infantry, in obeying

\* In his "History of the Sikhs," Vol. II, p. 115.

with alacrity the order I gave about midnight to stand to their arms and charge a battery which bore destructively on our ranks."

On December 28th the camp was advanced about ten miles nearer Sobraon, and on January 12th a further forward movement of about eight miles was made.

Whilst awaiting the arrival of his reinforcements the Commander-in-Chief dispatched the first division under Sir Harry Smith to reduce the Fort at Dhurumkote, to cover the march of the Meerut force, and to afford relief to Ludhiana, which was threatened by another Sikh army. Owing to the advance of the latter great uneasiness was felt at all the other stations, including Subathu. Lieutenant Williamson, who had been left there in charge of the Regimental depot, the women, children, and sick, sought and obtained the advice of General Tapp, who was then residing in retirement near Subathu. The General had served with the Regiment as far back as 1803, and under this experienced officer's advice precautions were adopted for the safety of the station and troops. Fortunately the success of Sir Harry Smith's division at Aliwal, where he gained a signal victory on January 28th, dissipated the fears of the unprotected stations.

On January 18th a further forward move was made in the direction of Sobraon which was now completely invested. During the period of awaiting the arrival of the reinforcements the enemy had been daily strengthening their position, until it formed an extensive semi-circle round the head of the pontoon bridge on the south bank of the river.

Early in February Sir Harry Smith's division returned, and the siege guns also arriving, Sir Hugh Gough was enabled on February 9th to form his plan of attack. The right face of the enemy's works was considered the most vulnerable, there being few guns in position, and the attack was arranged for February 10th.

During February 9th three officers rejoined the Regiment—viz., Lieut.-Colonel Orchard, C.B., and Ensigns F. W. A. Hamilton and G. C. Lambert. Colonel Orchard had cancelled his leave of absence to take command of the Regiment in the field, but, to the universal regret of the officers and men, an unforeseen difficulty presented itself, as Colonel Orchard was senior to some of the brigadiers in command, and the arrangements for all the brigades for the next day's attack had been completed. Accordingly he was promoted to the rank of Brigadier, and appointed to act as second-in-command of the 7th Brigade.

Ensign Hamilton, who had been left with the depot, had now so far recovered, that his earnest request to be allowed to join his Regiment in the field was granted, and he hastened, at considerable risk, to join Headquarters. Ensign Lambert, a young officer who had just been gazetted to the Regiment, had hurried up country, eager to take his share in the campaign and to join his brother, Lieutenant J. Lambert.

**Battle of  
Sobraon.**

Experience had taught most of the officers that they had no light work before them on the morrow. When they had separated after dinner, before the Battle of Ferozeshah on December 20th, 1845, many of the officers were strangers to the realities of war; but before they separated after mess on February 9th, 1846, a ceremony was performed, at the Commanding Officer's request, which savoured more of serious reality than it would have done on the previous occasion, when all, with the exception of Captain Box, were light-hearted and merry. Addressing the officers, Colonel David Birrell reminded them of the many absentees who had fallen since the commencement of the campaign, and he enjoined on all present to shake hands, so that, should there have been ill-feeling on the part of any, it might end for ever. He reminded them that they had a perilous undertaking before them on the next day, and that, to a certainty, they would not all meet again at the next dinner. There was a solemnity in Colonel Birrell's address, and the ceremony enjoined had the effect of cementing old friendships, and in some cases healing ill-feeling which might otherwise have existed for years, perhaps till death. All the officers present solemnly shook hands and retired to their tents. It was not till past midnight that all the lights in the camp were extinguished; and at 2 a.m. on February 10th the Regiment was paraded and took up position.

The enemy was evidently not aware of the intended attack. There was dead silence in his camp as the troops noiselessly approached under cover of a dense fog, which rendered the taking up the allotted positions a matter of some difficulty.

Gilbert's Division faced the north, right opposite to the centre, the strongest part of the enemy's entrenchments.

The rising sun rapidly dispelled the fog. As it cleared, the mortars and siege-guns opened a simultaneous fire, and the enemy appeared for the first time to realize their danger.

The Sikh drums beat the alarm, their bugles and trumpets sounded to arms, and in a few minutes the whole of the enemy's batteries were manned, and their guns were pouring shot and shell in the direction of the British troops.

Gilbert's Division was ensconced under cover of the banks of the dry bed of a small river, which partially encircled the outer works of the enemy's position. The action was commenced by an artillery duel, which lasted about two hours, when Gough was informed that the ammunition was nearly expended. Immediate orders were now given for the two brigades on the extreme left, under Major-General Dick, to carry the right entrenchments of the enemy.

The infantry charge was at first decisive and effective, the entrenchments being carried at the point of the bayonet without a musket-shot having been fired, and the enemy forced back on its inner works. Now, for the first time, Gough's plan of action seemed to dawn upon the Sikhs, and they hastened to redeem their want of foresight, rapidly concentrating their whole strength in



their weaker right defences. They apparently felt that if they could regain possession of their entrenchments on their right, the British, with their whole strength, could not carry the more formidable fortifications on the centre and left. The first British Division wavered, under the overwhelming force which was bearing down upon it ; amidst the shouts of the enemy, now redoubling their efforts, Dick's Division began gradually to lose ground, nobly disputing every inch, but unable to hold the batteries which they had captured, and which were quickly reoccupied by the enemy.

The first part of Sir Hugh Gough's programme having failed, he at once ordered the feint attacks of the centre and right to be converted into real assaults. The demonstration which Gilbert's Division had made on the enemy's centre had the effect of drawing the fire from his strongest batteries on it, this being part of Gough's plan. Desiring to divert the attention of the enemy from their right, he had arranged that Gilbert's (the centre) Division should be protected from the fire which it must necessarily attract by taking advantage of the cover afforded by the dry bed of the nullah. Now he called upon it to make a real attack upon the batteries from which it had just attracted the enemy's heaviest fire.

The fire from the enemy's heavy guns in their centre batteries, and musketry, was terrific, and the air, charged with sulphur, was stifling, and so heated that it was almost unbearable. The Regiment advanced with a determination which promised to carry everything before it. Quickly reaching the ditch which formed the outer defence, and springing into it, they found themselves confronted by the massive walls, which in the distance had appeared less formidable, but actually were too high to scale without ladders. To retire was again to encounter the storm of fire through which they had just passed ; to remain in their present position was annihilation. The Regiment was forced again to seek shelter under cover of the bank of the dry river which it had left but a short time before. During the advance several officers and men had fallen, Lieutenant Shuttleworth and Ensign Hamilton having been killed, and Ensigns Davidson and Innes wounded, as well as many men.

As the Regiment was retiring the enemy sent out their dismounted cavalry to cut up those who had fallen, and these men barbarously murdered many of the wounded who might otherwise have found their way to camp in safety.

On reaching the dry bed of the river it was found that Brigadier McLaren, commanding the brigade, was mortally wounded, and Colonel Birrell, the next in seniority, assumed command, the command of the Regiment devolving on the Adjutant (Brevet Captain Douglas Seaton) who, rapidly forming up the Regiment and issuing orders to rush the embrasures and spike the guns, led them to their second charge. Having taken ground to its left, the line now boldly advanced, but was a second time hurled back. A third time the Regiment, having inclined farther to the left, charged with a cheer and a determination which no fire could check, dashing forward without halt or hesitation, notwithstanding that the ranks were thinned at every step. The

embrasures were reached, the foremost men having been propped up on the shoulders of their comrades ; shouts of triumph rang through the ranks as the little parties who had gained a footing found their numbers inside the batteries increasing, and a rush was made at the enemy's heavy guns, which were captured and spiked.

The first division had meanwhile successfully renewed their attack on the enemy's right, driven them from their entrenchments and recaptured their guns, so that the whole semi-circle of the enemy's outer batteries was captured.

From the right, centre and left the troops pushed forward, forcing the enemy step by step towards their bridge. " No Sikh offered to submit, no disciple of Govind asked for quarter. They everywhere showed a front to the victors and stalked slowly and sullenly away, while many rushed singly forth to meet assured death by contending with a multitude."\*

This was no time for mercy or clemency ; the British army had just passed over the dead bodies of their comrades, many of whom had been ruthlessly and barbarously hacked to pieces, the men thirsted for revenge and a terrible revenge they took.

Step by step the Sikh army was forced back in the direction of their bridge, the pressure on which became so great that the sides broke away.

The enemy still endeavoured to rally, but the pressure was too great, many thousands being precipitated headlong into the river, and the artillery opened a galling fire of grape and shrapnel on the fugitives. There had been in India no such slaughter since the Battle of Buxar, 1764, when the dead of Surajah Dowlah's army formed a mole over which the defeated survivors effected their escape. The River Sutlej, after the Battle of Sobraon, was the Golgotha of the largest proportion of the Sikh army.

The Governor-General, in his notification published four days after this victory, refers to it as being " one of the most daring ever achieved, by which, in open day, a triple line of breastworks, flanked by formidable redoubts, bristling with artillery, manned by thirty-two regular regiments of infantry was assaulted and carried."

Thus ended the storm and capture of the last Sikh stronghold ; and thus virtually terminated the Sutlej Campaign. The enemy lost between 8,000 and 10,000 men, and 60 pieces of heavy artillery, but this great result was not achieved without an immense sacrifice of life on the British side.

During the advance of the second or General Gilbert's Division, 689 men fell within half an hour, the Regiment losing 12 officers, 12 serjeants, and 173 rank and file, General Gilbert being wounded at the head of the division, and Brigadier McLaren, who commanded the brigade, and was referred to by the Commander-in-Chief in his despatch as " one of the ablest of the senior officers of the force," being mortally wounded whilst leading the brigade to the assault.

It must be borne in mind that the Regiment had suffered so severely at the Battle of Ferozeshah, that it was only little over 400 strong when it went

\* Cunningham's " History of the Sikhs," p. 328.

into action at Sobraon, and lost nearly half that number in the three assaults.\*

Of all ranks in the British army, there were killed 320 and wounded 2,063, making a total of 2,383.

Before noon the battle was over, and the enemy had been driven from the Company's territories. Then came the sad duty of burying the dead and collecting the wounded. Twenty-seven of the Regiment were placed in one grave on the bank of the dry bed of the river from which they had made their three gallant assaults.

The following is a list of the killed and wounded officers of the Regiment at the Battle of Sobraon :—

*Killed :*

Lieutenant F. Shuttleworth.

Ensign F. W. A. Hamilton.

*Wounded :*

Lieutenant J. Lambert (mortally).

Lieutenant D. C. T. Beatson (died next day).

Ensign G. H. Davidson (mortally).

Lieutenant A. Hume (dangerously).

Captain E. Magnay (severely).

Lieutenant G. G. Denniss (severely).

Lieutenant J. Patullo (severely).

Lieutenant T. Staples (returned slightly wounded, but part of foot amputated).

Ensign C. O. B. Palmer (slightly).

Ensign P. R. Innes (slightly).

When the Regiment left Subathu on December 10th there were present 24 officers, and two joined afterwards.

At the Battle of Ferozeshah and the storm and capture of Sobraon, 9 officers were killed or mortally wounded and 11 less severely wounded ; thus a total of 20 out of 26 officers formed the casualty list during the campaign.

The Regiment, which had been 640 strong—after having left its sick in hospital, and men on duty with the depot at Subathu—lost 406 rank and file killed and wounded, there being left for duty with the headquarters of the Regiment on February 11th only 6 officers and 230 rank and file.

If losses during a campaign be any indication of services rendered, then assuredly the Regiment must be admitted to have fought well indeed ; for seldom has a unit shown such a casualty list in any single successful campaign.

\* Major Sir Herbert B. Edwardes, C.B., speaking of the power of a regular army to rally and return to the charge, says in his "A Year in the Punjab, vol. 2, p. 604," "I have seen my own glorious corps, the 1st Bengal Fusiliers, return a third time to the attack of a Sikh entrenchment higher than their heads after two cruel repulses, and with 200 of their men and officers down upon the ground. That was at Sobraon. Did they get in? *Of course* they got in. Such troops *must* get in."

Serjeant-Major Moore of the Regiment was promoted to the rank of Ensign for distinguished services in the field at Ferozeshah and Sobraon.

Of Lieutenant John Lambert, McGregor, in his "History of the Sikhs," says: "To speak of him merely as a brother-officer would be doing injustice to his memory; he was our friend, the friend of the writer of these pages, and never have we known a more zealous or enthusiastic soldier, or one who more fully sustained the honour of his profession. He had talents of no ordinary kind, and had he been spared poor Lambert would have been an honour to the fair town of Alnwick which gave him birth; but he died the death he coveted, fell fighting side by side with his gallant companions before Sobraon, universally lamented by his brother-officers." Captain R. C. Napier, afterwards Lord Napier of Magdala, says: "I saw that fine boy—Lambert—after Sobraon in the Ferozepore Hospital, with one leg amputated, full of the same spirit that he had displayed at the Battle of Ferozeshah; but he did not recover."

Ensign Fred Hamilton was—as has been previously narrated—left on account of ill-health with the depot of the Regiment when it went on service against the Sikhs. It was a sore trial, and he begged to be allowed to accompany the Regiment, but the Surgeon was inexorable. No sooner was his health sufficiently restored than he, at considerable risk, hastened to his post—too late, indeed, to take part in the Battle of Ferozeshah, but to fall later at Sobraon. He was shot down during the first advance, and in this helpless condition was cut to pieces by the enemy who sallied forth from the embrasures when the Regiment was driven back.

Lieutenant Shuttleworth fell early in the day; he was not, like Hamilton, hacked and mutilated, but shot dead, and does not appear to have moved after he fell.

There was also Ensign Gordon Hugh Davidson. McGregor speaks of him as "uniting the daring courage of a soldier to the meekest, mildest spirit." He was shot by a musket ball in the right breast, during the first advance, and was conveyed to the field hospital. The bullet was extracted from his spine, but fever supervened and he passed away during the night.

Shuttleworth, Hamilton and Davidson were buried on the evening succeeding the battle, in a small grove of trees close to the camp. It was almost dark, the "Dead March" played by the band being the only sound as the funeral cortege moved along; this was so small that a stranger casually passing might perhaps have thought that the dead officers had but few friends, but the six followers were the sole survivors amongst the officers of the Regiment of this bloody campaign.

On February 12th camp was struck and the troops advanced, crossing the Sutlej on the 13th and encamping at Kusur, thirty miles from Lahore. On the 16th the Maharaja Dulip Sing agreed to the proffered terms unconditionally, and with this treaty terminated what may be called the first chapter of the conquest of the Punjab. On February 20th the Army encamped on

the plain outside the walls of Lahore, and orders were issued for the breaking up of the "Army of the Sutlej."

The Regiment commenced its return journey on March 23rd, crossing the Sutlej on the 26th; it was inspected on the following day by the Commander-in-Chief.

He spoke to the men feelingly and impressively of their gallant conduct during the campaign, and remarked that the number of wounded in the ranks proved how eager they had been to take their share of duty with their more fortunate comrades. To the officers he said that, should Her Majesty be pleased to confer on him her gracious approval for the part he had taken in the late campaign, he should always feel that such approval was due to the officers and men who had gained for him this great success. In conclusion, His Excellency announced to the Regiment that, in reward for its distinguished services, he had obtained the permission of the Government of India to create the Bengal European Light Infantry a Fusilier Regiment, and thenceforward it was to be designated "The 1st European Bengal Fusiliers," the General Order being dated April 11th, 1846.

The next day the Regiment continued its return march to Subathu, which station it reached early in April.

During the autumn of this year Colonel Joseph Orchard, C.B., again commanding the Regiment, met with an accident on parade which unhappily terminated fatally, his horse swerving and throwing the rider violently to the ground. One of the officers ran to his assistance, but, quickly recovering himself, Orchard sprung to his feet, reprimanded the officer for having left the ranks, and ordered the Regiment to "retire by double column of subdivisions from both flanks in rear of the centre." This was the last word of command he ever gave—it was in vain he attempted to remount his horse; the parade was dismissed, and the Colonel was assisted to his house near at hand, where he lingered for a few months. He died February 19th, and was buried with full military honours in the cemetery at Subathu.

Nothing could surpass the genuine grief of the Regiment; for Colonel Orchard was, in every sense, the father of the Regiment, with which he had served over forty years. He was not only respected; he was beloved by all under his command. His memory was always held in affectionate veneration by all those who had had the privilege of serving under him.

The gloom cast over the Regiment was at this time increased by the terrible visitation of a very virulent form of cholera, which created terrible havoc, especially amongst the young soldiers lately joined to fill the many vacancies created during the Sutlej War.

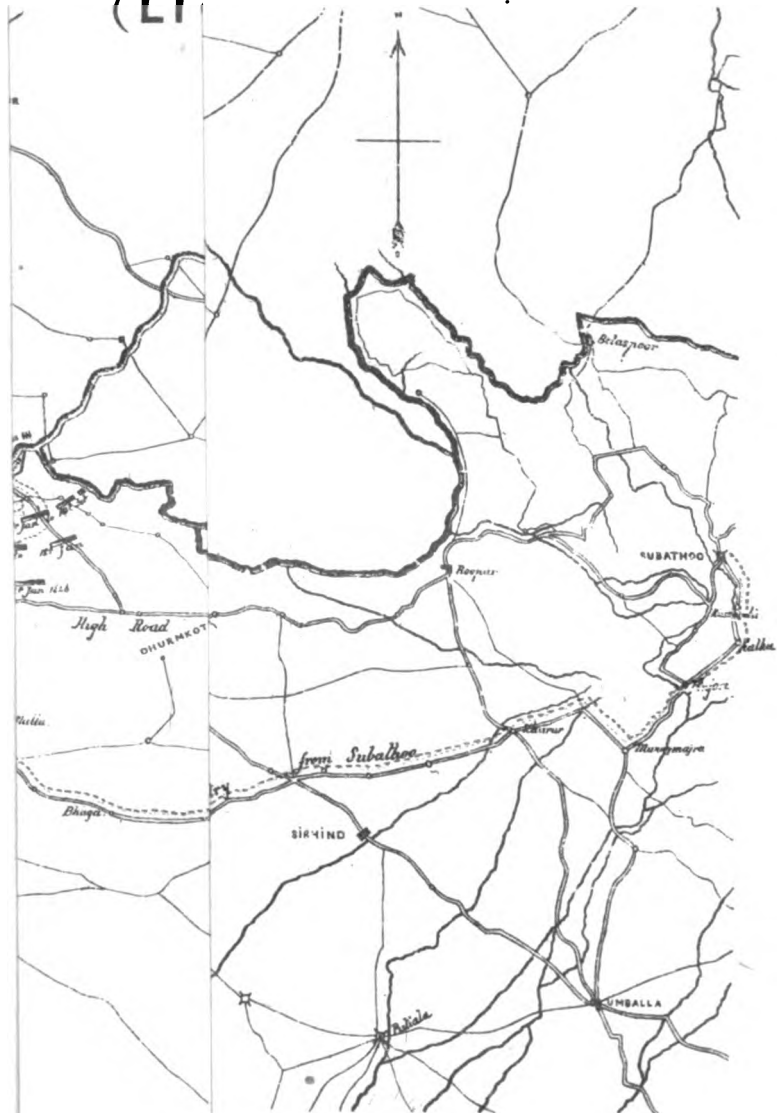
A cricket match\* was played between Simla and Subathu on August 23rd, 1847, Subathu being represented by the Regiment and 2nd Bengal European Regiment.

\* For particulars see under date in 2nd Bengal European Narrative.

Dec. 1845  
TO  
Feb 1846

Map № 15.

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Towards the close of 1847 the Regiment was ordered to Cawnpore, and on arrival was placed under the command of Colonel George Huyshe, C.B. In the following autumn the left wing, under command of Major H. T. Combe, was detached to Agra, where it remained until the close of 1849.

The Regiment had been so terribly reduced during the Sutlej War, that its ranks were still filled with young soldiers and recruits; in these circumstances it was left to guard the Lower Province and took no part in the Punjab War.

One of the officers of the Regiment, however, took a very prominent part in the events which led up to the war—viz., Lieutenant Herbert Benjamin Edwardes,\* a man who commanded the respect of his brother officers, and whose genial, kindly nature endeared him to all. In sound, clear judgment, and common sense he was far beyond his years. In 1845 this unknown subaltern published, under the pseudonym of "Brahmine Bull," a series of political papers, which immediately attracted the attention not only of the Indian Government officials, but of those in power in England. These letters were believed to be from the pen of a man of high standing and much Indian experience, but when it was rumoured that the author was a young subaltern doing duty with his regiment at Subathu all officials were sceptical. The Commander-in-Chief (Sir Hugh Gough) sent for Edwardes, and the Governor-General (Sir Henry Hardinge) interviewed him. From that time young Edwardes became, both as a writer and as a soldier, the rising man of the day. As a temporary measure Edwardes was appointed an extra aide-de-camp to the Commander-in-Chief, and a few years afterwards his exploits of coolness, courage, and sound judgment caused all England to ring with respect, admiration, and praise.

Colonel Henry Lawrence was, "with an efficient establishment," appointed at the end of 1846 to reside at Lahore as British representative and, amongst others, selected Lieutenant Edwardes to serve on his staff. Colonel Lawrence was succeeded in the beginning of 1848 by Sir F. Currie, and shortly afterwards the Sikhs determined to have another struggle with the British for mastery. Dissatisfaction first showed itself at Multan, where Mulraj, the Governor of the Province, rose in rebellion, and two British officers who were sent to report were basely murdered there.

The state of affairs at Multan was quickly reported to Edwardes. To have awaited orders from Lahore would have imperilled the status of the British at the Sikh capital. Edwardes, therefore, in the absence of the Regular troops, organized a force from the raw levies at his disposal; and, having made a report of his proceedings to his Chief, marched to attack Mulraj. Edwardes' whole force numbered only 1,600 men, and was composed for the most part of soldiers of conflicting interests and doubtful allegiance.

The news of the murder of the two officers reached Edwardes whilst he was at Dera Futteh Khan, about ninety miles from Multan. He hastily

\* See Appendix "I," p. 218.



communicated with the British officers at the nearest stations, asking assistance. One of the murdered officers had, just before his death, sent a message to General Van Courtland, begging that he would come to his assistance with his Pathan soldiers. Edwardes, having been reinforced by some of General Van Courtland's troops, attacked and defeated a large body of Mulraj's army; and again, on May 20th, he met and defeated another division of Mulraj's troops at Kineri, and, after nine hours' severe fighting, drove his enemy across the River Chenab, and thus deprived him of a large portion of his territories. Finally, having received further reinforcements, and secured the co-operation of some friendly Sikh chiefs, Edwardes advanced on Multan itself. Here he was confronted by Mulraj's main army, under the personal command of that chief. Nothing daunted, Edwardes gave Mulraj battle on July 1st and, after a desperate encounter, forced his antagonist to seek refuge behind his defences.

The Lahore Brigade, under General Whish, was ordered to Multan to support Edwardes, and the Ferozepore Brigade was moved to Lahore, both these brigades being at once pushed on to Multan. On arrival on September 5th Whish joined Edwardes' force, now mustering some 20,000 men, encamped at Suraj Khund, about six miles from Multan, the siege was commenced on the 7th, and after various vicissitudes the Fortress was occupied on January 21st, eight days after the Battle of Chillianwalla, and the troops rejoined the army in time to take a part in the Battle of Guzerat.

Immediately after the Punjab War, the right wing of the Regiment marched from Cawnpore, and, joining the left wing at Agra, in March, the entire Regiment proceeded to Lahore, the capital of the newly-acquired territories in the Punjab, reaching its destination early in 1850.

Lieut.-Colonel David Birrell, lately returned from furlough, now resumed command of the Regiment.

As there were not sufficient barracks in the newly-built cantonment of Anarkali for the accommodation of all the European force at Lahore, the Regiment was quartered in the Hazari Bagh, or Royal Garden, a fortified portion of the city in which were the palaces of the Maharajas.

The Regiment was quartered in the midst of a restless population, not yet habituated to British rule, and consisting of fanatics and discharged Sikh soldiers, who had so lately been our enemies in the field; yet such was the discipline maintained, that, although the men were frequently insulted and molested in the streets, instances of retaliation on their part were very rare.

In June the officer on guard was informed that six Sikh fanatics had broken into the square adjoining one of the barracks, which was used as "married men's quarters." Proceeding to the place indicated, he found the dead bodies of the six Sikhs lying in the square. They had stealthily entered the enclosure a few minutes before the dinner-hour, and having bound the mystic thread around their wrists and drawn their tulwars, they had attempted to sell their lives as dearly as they could, and to inflict death on all the

Europeans who might come across their path. Eleven of the married men of the Regiment had been wounded before the fanatics were killed, but fortunately not fatally, having defended themselves with legs of tables, chairs, and footstools, or anything else that came to hand, their wives helping the men by clinging to the Sikhs, who, although maddened with bhang, and thirsting for blood, would not injure either women or children.

In the autumn of this year, the River Ravi overflowed, and the esplanade and surrounding country were placed many feet under water which also surrounded the Fort, where the Regiment was quartered, producing malaria, so affecting both officers and men that upwards of eighty per cent. were either on the sick list or in hospital with fever. The Regiment was now ordered into camp on some rising ground a few miles from Lahore.

Dr. H. A. Bruce was at this trying time the surgeon of the Regiment, and nothing could exceed his kindness and attention. He had at all times been a universal favourite in the Regiment, both with the officers and men, not only professionally, but as the life of the mess-table. The scenes in camp during this severe epidemic were very distressing, the sick in their damp tents suffering much discomfort, and the constantly occurring deaths throwing a gloom over the camp, which was not relieved until it became known that the Regiment was to march, as soon as practicable, to Meerut. The conveyance of the sick was a matter of considerable difficulty, three thousand bearers being required to carry the doolies containing the invalids. The disease had told disastrously on the constitutions of the men; and on arrival at Meerut a medical board was assembled, under the orders of the Commander-in-Chief, to report on the health of the Regiment, when it was found that three-fourths of the men were still weakly, and suffering from the effects of the malaria to which they had been exposed at Lahore. However, in a year's time the Regiment had recovered its customary fine health, spirits and efficiency.



*The Edwardes Medal 1848-9*

A special gold medal was struck and presented by the Company to Lieutenant (afterwards Sir) H. B. Edwardes, 1st Bengal Fusiliers, for his distinguished service during the Punjab campaign.

## CHAPTER VII

BURMESE WAR, 1852—CAPTURE OF PEGU—INDIAN MUTINY—ACTION AT BUDLEE-KA-SERAI—  
SIEGE OF DELHI—ACTION AT NAJAFGHUR—CAPTURE OF DELHI.

*Reference Maps Nos. 18, 19. Pages 140, 158.*

EARLY in 1852 rumours were rife of a coming war with Burma, and an intimation was received that in all probability the services of the Regiment would be called into requisition.

On account of constant indignities and insults to the British representative in Burma, the Indian Government demanded satisfaction from the Burmese king, and as this was refused it was decided on February 10th to send a military expedition to insist on an apology, and on compensation, being made ; Rangoon was occupied in April and Pegu temporarily occupied in June.

The Regiment, then under command of Lieut.-Colonel Tudor, had received orders to join the army on service in Burma, and formed with the 37th Bengal Native Infantry and the Regiment of Ludhiana, the 3rd Brigade, under Brigadier G. Huish, C.B., of the Bengal Division under Brigadier-General Sir John Cheape, K.C.B. It proceeded to Allahabad by river boats, and thence to Chinsurah by steamers. Two months were expended in transporting the Regiment to Calcutta, where it embarked on board the frigates *Sphinx*, *Muzuffar*, and *Feroze*, which conveyed it to Rangoon, arriving in the following November.

Rangoon was garrisoned by the Regiment, Her Majesty's 80th and 51st Regiments and the 1st European Madras Fusiliers, with a detachment of the 18th Royal Irish, in addition to some batteries of field artillery and native infantry.

The town and fort of Pegu had been evacuated in June as there were not at that time sufficient troops available to hold it.

On November 19th an expedition for the recapture of Pegu, left Rangoon under Brigadier McNeill ; it consisted of the Regiment under Colonel Tudor, 300 of the Madras Fusiliers under Major Hill, 400 5th Madras Native Infantry, with some detachments of artillery and sappers, and two field-guns. General Godwin accompanied the expedition and superintended its operations.

The force landed on the 21st, a dense fog prevailing, and having taken up its positions commenced the march through close and difficult jungle towards Pegu. The Regiment and the Madras Europeans threw forward skirmishers, pushing on steadily, although the thick undergrowth was breast-high, rendering regular movements impossible. The men were scattered in single and double files, whilst the

**Capture of Pegu.**



- 1.—Brevet-Major (later Major-General) H. G. DELAFOSSE. Commanded 101st Fusiliers, 1875–1880.
- 2.—Lieutenant H. B. EDWARDES (later Major-General Sir Herbert Edwardes, K.C.B., K.C.S.I.). Commissioner at Umballa. The successful commander at Kineri, 1848.
- 3.—Brevet-Major W. S. HODSON, of Hodson's Horse, 1857.
- 4.—Lieutenant-Colonel (later Major-General, C.B.) F. O. SALUSBURY. Commanded 101st Fusiliers, 1863–1869.
- 5.—Colonel MONTAGU HALL. Commanded 1st Battalion, 1880–1883.



enemy, concealed around, were sending amongst them a dropping fire. The heat was so oppressive, and the exertion of pushing through the jungle so great, that several of the men fell from fatigue, and some from sunstroke. Having at last arrived near the gateway of the town, General Godwin formed up his troops for the attack, but the men were so exhausted that it was found impossible to advance.

After an hour's rest General Godwin addressed the troops, complimenting them on their almost superhuman exertions under such great difficulties, and explaining to them the work they still had before them. "Now," said he, addressing the Fusilier Regiments, "you are Bengalies, and you are Madrassies; let's see who are the best men." A hearty cheer was the response, and the Bengal and Madras Fusiliers led the assault on the city gate, which was, after a short struggle, captured, the Burmese soldiers being forced back and seeking shelter under the walls of the pagoda which was built on a platform. About noon the whole of the town and Fort of Pegu was captured, with a total loss of 3 officers wounded, and from 30 to 40 rank and file killed, wounded, and missing.

Serjeant-Major Hopkins,\* of the Regiment, was promoted to an unattached Ensigncy for his gallant conduct during the storm of Pegu.

On November 22nd the British troops returned to Rangoon, with the exception of the following, left to garrison Pegu :—

200 Madras Fusiliers.

200 5th Madras Native Infantry.

A detachment of European artillery with 2 guns.

The small size of the garrison tempted the Burmese to make constant attempts to recapture the town. A report of the trying and uncertain position of the Pegu garrison having reached General Godwin, a relief expedition was at once organized. The force left in two steamers and a number of boats on December 12th, with guns loaded and a party of twenty-five men on each paddle-box, that on the starboard furnished by the Madras, on the larboard by the Bengal Fusiliers. At sunset the boats anchored. At daylight on the 13th the boats proceeded up the river and at the village of Lower Seedee the river was found to be obstructed by stakes. The troops were quickly landed and moved up to the village, which they occupied. During the night a volley was fired by the enemy into one of the houses, one Bengal Fusilier being killed and one mortally wounded.

**Relief of  
Pegu.**

On the morning of December 14th the troops advanced to the relief of the garrison of Pegu, the advance being in the following order :—250 Madras Fusiliers under Captain Renand, 150 Bengal Fusiliers under Major Gerrard, 300 Sikhs under Major Armstrong, formed the advance, under General Godwin; then came 200 of the 10th Bengal Native Infantry, 450 Bengal

\* He eventually attained the rank of Lieutenant-Colonel and died at Meerut, in August, 1881.

Fusiliers under Lieut.-Colonel Tudor, forming the reserve. On nearing the south-west gate of the city, a party of the enemy was quickly dispersed, and the force continued its march, soon reaching the gateway, which was protected by a wet ditch and strong defences. The Burmese advanced from the surrounding jungle, and threatened the flanks of the column, but a few shots forced them to return to shelter. The defences being found to be too strong to be forced, the advance party made a detour and pushed quickly on to the eastern gateway of the city, which was entered without further opposition and the beleaguered garrison in the pagoda was relieved.

During the afternoon the Regiment was sent to capture the stockades and defences to the south and west of the city still occupied by the enemy, who were constantly sniping and firing volleys at the pagoda. The works were effectively cleared and at once demolished, the Regiment returning at dusk to the pagoda. All the troops were thoroughly tired out and slept under whatever cover they could find ; the want of overcoats laid the foundation of much sickness and mortality.

During the following days the Burmese were employed in throwing up three lines of entrenchments about the village of Kully on the plain beyond the jungle to the north of Pegu, and on December 17th at 7 a.m. General Godwin advanced his force—with which were 570 of the Regiment—to drive the enemy from their newly-formed position. On the column reaching the plain, the troops took ground to the right, Major Seaton, with 200 men of the Regiment, driving in two outposts on the right of the enemy position, and turning the left of the enemy's position, the British rapidly occupied the enemy's lines of entrenchments. After this action the troops rested for an hour and then proceeded on to Lephangoon, a distance of ten miles, which was reached at 4.30 p.m., the enemy had evacuated the village, where the troops found good quarters for the night.

On December 18th the troops moved through the jungle in the direction of the Shoegheen road, along which they proceeded as far as the village of Montsaganu, ten miles, where the enemy had again entrenched themselves. After some skirmishing—during which the Burmese made merely a show of resistance—the entrenchments were occupied, and the defences levelled ; and, the surrounding country having been completely cleared of the enemy, the troops returned to Pegu.

The exposure to the dews at night, and the fatigue consequent on marching under a tropical sun by day during the 17th and 18th, produced much sickness amongst the Regiment, twenty of whom died of cholera alone a few days after their return to Pegu.

The following is an extract from a despatch from Major-General Godwin, C.B., commanding the troops, dated December 24th, 1852 :—" . . . To Lieut.-Colonel Tudor, who was very often called upon with his regiment, the Bengal Fusiliers, to give parties for assaults ; and on the day of my relieving the garrison of Pegu I detached the Lieut.-Colonel to clear the road



communicating with the landing place on the river. The Lieut.-Colonel performed this duty most effectually under a heavy fire. . . . To Majors Gerrard and Seaton of the Bengal Fusiliers . . . . Lieutenant Lambert of the Bengal Fusiliers. . . ."

Leaving a garrison of about 700 in Pegu, General Godwin, with the remainder of his troops, returned to Rangoon on December 22nd.

To clear the country of all the Burmese troops, and to drive them from the numerous strong stockades which they had erected on the line of country extending from Martaban to Tonghoo, a column was formed, consisting of 450 of the Regiment under Major Gerrard, 150 Madras Fusiliers, together with a force of artillery, and native infantry, the whole under command of Brig.-General Steele, C.B.

The expedition embarked for Martaban, and arrived there on January 5th, leaving there on the 14th for a march of 240 miles through swamp and dense forest, never before traversed by a European force. The enemy held a strong position at Kyouk-ye-dwing, about four miles from Martaban. On reaching Kyouk-ye-dwing the Burmese opened fire from the thick jungle which covered their stockade and village below. The march had been effected through heavy grass and clumps of bamboos, but the troops were by this time inured to their work, and in good marching condition; and, the rockets and howitzers having opened fire, the enemy was driven out of the jungle. The attacking party, with which were 75 men of the Regiment, advanced on the stockades, but they were found vacated. The column now halted for four days, the men amusing themselves by hunting and killing the huge snakes, large numbers of which were found in the jungles.

The advance was generally composed as follows:—75 men from the Regiment and Madras Fusiliers, 1 company 10th Bengal Native Infantry, 1 company 5th Madras Native Infantry, then the howitzers and rocket tubes, followed by the Irregular Cavalry, then—four deep—the remainder of the Regiment and Madras Fusiliers, 10th Bengal Native Infantry, Artillery, 5th Madras Native Infantry, and the Moulmein Detachment.

On the 18th an eight-miles march brought the force to Gongoh, which was defended by stockaded breastworks, which were covered by a deep ditch, and numerous pits with bamboo spikes. The enemy at first showed some confidence, firing round shot into the head of the column, but the two howitzers and a rocket tube, having been with difficulty dragged to the front through the heavy swamp and long grass, and brought into action, the storming party under Major Seaton, of the Regiment, advanced.

On reaching the stockade it was found that the enemy had retreated, leaving 80 to 100 dead, many having been thrown into the wells in order to poison the water. At 3 p.m. the troops encamped, having, during their trying march, suffered much from the sun overhead and the swampy nature of the ground underfoot.

**Capture of  
Gongoh.**



After this affair at Gongoh the Burmese made no stand whatever ; the onward march was unopposed, the difficulties consisted mainly in obtaining information as to the best positions for the camping grounds near clean wells or streams. On January 21st Ouchtada was reached, and so on to Beeling, which was occupied on the 28th, vast quantities of rice falling into the hands of the Commissariat. Many of the marches were made through dense forests, the track being entirely sheltered from the sun by huge teak trees. The crossing of the many streams which intersected the country was sometimes arduous, occupying several hours, but all ranks worked cheerfully, and the Bengal sepoy willingly assisted the Europeans, by helping them to carry their arms and accoutrements, as they waded breast-high through the nullahs.

After eight fatiguing but highly interesting marches, the column, on February 11th, reached Shoegheen, an important city situated on the left bank of the River Sittang. Next day the column was refreshed by the sight of the steam frigate *Feroze*, which, with three gun-boats, formed the convoy of a welcome supply of provisions for the troops.

A "light division" of the "Martaban Column" was now formed, consisting of about 900 men, with whom were 200 of the Regiment, under Major Gerrard, the remainder of the Regiment being left with the force which garrisoned Shoegheen, the garrison being commanded by Major Seaton of the Regiment.

The division commenced its march to Tonghoo on February 15th. On the 21st Thandobin, on the banks of the Sittang river, was reached, a distance of fifty-four miles from Shoegheen ; here a halt was made.

The passage of the Sittang river was accomplished on the 22nd, the greater part of the column being carried over on elephants. The troops then formed up and marched towards Tonghoo, where they were soon housed in the numerous poonghees' houses\*.

A small detachment of Ramghur Horse was sent from Tonghoo in pursuit of the retreating Burmese Army, Captains Fanshawe and Maxwell, of the Regiment, accompanying the cavalry. The British soon cleared the whole country of their enemies, expelling them from Martaban in the south, to thirty miles north of Tonghoo. Major Gerrard, commanding the Regiment, received the thanks of Brig.-General Steele for his "ready and untiring aid on all emergencies."

On April 11th the Regiment, under Major Gerrard, left Tonghoo for Shoegheen *en route* for Rangoon, having been relieved by a detachment of the 1st Madras Fusiliers, the headquarters of that regiment arriving soon after. The return under an April sun was trying, and rendered night marches a necessity.

Before reaching Shoegheen the Regiment sustained a great loss by the sudden and unexpected death of Captain Edmund Byng, A.D.C., who died of heat apoplexy, whilst being carried in a doolie on the line of march. Captain

\* Monasteries.

Byng had lately returned to India from England, and was proceeding to rejoin his staff appointment, when, finding that his Regiment was on service, he hastened to join the Headquarters, but, as he was not acclimatized, he sank under the heat, his health rapidly gave way, and he succumbed to the climate.

A detachment of the Regiment, under Major Seaton, remained at Shoegheen, and the Headquarters proceeded by boat to Rangoon, about 100 men under Lieutenant Hickey being left at Pegu to reinforce the stockade garrison at that place.

During the time that the detachment under Major Seaton was stationed at Shoegheen, the Burmese attacked a small garrison of Madras Native Infantry, who occupied a stockade at Beeling, a village to the south-east. The native infantry were forced to retire, the European officer in command having been dangerously wounded. Major Seaton, commanding the detachment of the Regiment at Shoegheen, was instructed to send one company to join the force for the recapture of Beeling. No. 1 was the company selected, commanded by Captain G. C. Lambert, Lieutenant Walter Davison being the subaltern. The detachment proceeded down the River Sittang in boats to the town of that name, where they landed. They then marched towards

**Capture of  
Beeling  
Stockade.**

Beeling, the Sittang garrison furnishing as many men as could be spared. The combined force now advanced to the attack, the company of the Regiment being ordered to assault the front face of the stockade, whilst some of the British troops were sent to cut off the enemy's retreat, should they evacuate their position. Captain Lambert's company advanced, covered by skirmishers, and were received by a sharp fire of small arms; nevertheless, they reserved their fire, and, with a rush succeeded in scaling the stockade and opening one of the gates from the inside, through which the main portion of the British troops entered, the enemy beating a retreat through a sortie gate in the rear face of the stockade. The jungle proved so dense that the retreating Burmese managed to escape. The British detachment remained a few days in the neighbourhood, and then, having garrisoned the stockade, returned to their respective stations.

The Governor-General in Council expressed great satisfaction at the manner in which these and other operations had been executed, and at the conduct and gallantry of the troops engaged.

Before the end of the year, the Regiment, which had for many months been divided into small commands, was again assembled together, and sent to garrison the newly acquired frontier towns, Thayetmyo and Meaday, and, hostilities having completely ceased, the Regiment enjoyed the repose and comfort to which it was fairly entitled, after its exposure to trying climates and onerous duties performed during the past two years.

Towards the end of 1854 the Regiment was relieved by Her Majesty's 29th Regiment, and proceeded to Rangoon in flats towed by river steamers. After a delay of a few weeks the Regiment was conveyed in the Company's

Roll of Officers serving with the Regiment in 1853 is shown in Appendix "T," p. 243.

transports to Calcutta, where it arrived in February, 1855, having been absent from India two and a half years. Remaining in camp for a few weeks, the Regiment proceeded up country in steamers to Dinapore.

In January the Regiment marched from Dinapore to Cawnpore, the Right Wing and Headquarters proceeding to Dagshai. The Right Wing marched from Dagshai in November, and the Left Wing from Cawnpore in December to Umballa, where the Regiment joined the Camp of Exercise, and in March the entire Regiment returned to Dagshai.

For some past few years there had been a growing feeling of discontent in the ranks of the native army, which in some instances had even broken into open mutiny though quickly crushed. As far back as 1841 there had been dissatisfaction and grumbling. Then came the Sikh Wars which for a time silenced the mutterings of the native troops. The sepoys hated and dreaded the Sikhs whose defeat was a source of much joy, but the Sikhs had now been invited to take service in the British Army and had heartily responded, causing the sepoys to fear that these stalwart Northmen would ultimately take their place. In addition to this suspicion, reports were freely circulated that the British were about to deprive the sepoys of their caste by mixing bone-dust with their food, tearing down the purdahs from their zenanahs, forcing all widows to re-marry, and compelling the native soldiers to defile themselves by taking between their teeth pig's and bullock's fat, which, it was stated, was being used in making new cartridges. Then came the annexation of Oude, which was another firebrand adding fuel to the smouldering heap of discontent.

Colonel Sir Henry Lawrence had been appointed Chief Commissioner in Oude, and on May 3rd it was reported that the 7th Oude  
**Indian  
Mutiny.** Irregulars had mutinied; this he nipped in the bud, but it was merely a forerunner of further disorder. On May 10th at Meerut, the native troops rose in mutiny, killed all Europeans, and marched to Delhi, where they joined the mutineers of that city.

The thundercloud had burst, it was clear that the sepoy regiments of the Bengal Army were all more or less implicated, and the question was whether the Sikhs would declare for or against the British. Sir John Lawrence was Chief Commissioner of the Punjab, and by his influence the scale was turned in favour of the British.

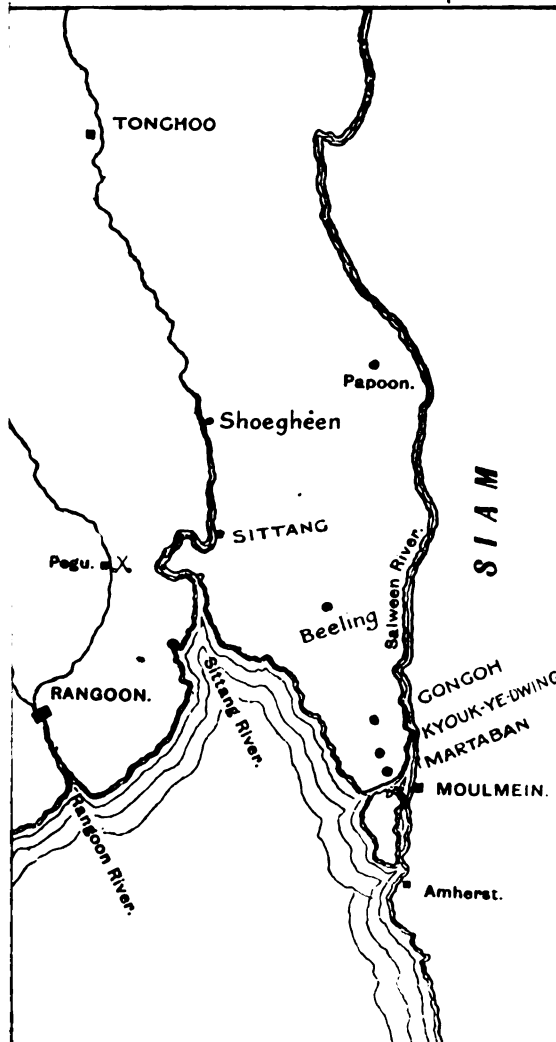
On the morning of May 13th, Major G. O. Jacob, of the Regiment, rode into Dagshai from Simla, with orders from the Commander-in-Chief for the Regiment to march, as soon as arrangements could be completed, to Umballa, where further orders would await them. The men were immediately assembled on parade, the weakly ones being formed into a depot for the protection of the sick and of the station of Dagshai. Such was the energy displayed by all that, at 4 p.m. on the same day, the Regiment commenced its march towards Umballa, probably never in finer condition to take the field, both in physique

Roll of Officers serving with the Regiment in 1856 is shown in Appendix "T," p. 245.

# BURMA WAR

2-54.

Map N° 18.



50 100 Miles.



and discipline. They paraded in their shirt sleeves with sixty rounds of ammunition per man.

The following officers were present with the Regiment when it marched from Dagshai on May 13th :—

Major G. O. Jacob.	2nd Lieutenant F. D. M. Brown.
Captain G. G. Dennis.	2nd Lieutenant N. Ellis.
Captain S. Greville.	2nd Lieutenant A. R. Chapman
Captain C. Wriford.	2nd Lieutenant W. H. Warner.
Lieutenant W. S. R. Hodson.	
Lieutenant J. W. Daniell.	REGIMENTAL STAFF.
Lieutenant E. A. C. Lambert.	Lieutenant H. M. Wemyss
Lieutenant J. S. Walters.	(Adjutant).
Lieutenant T. A. Butler.	Lieutenant C. MacFarlane
Lieutenant W. A. D. Cairnes.	(Inter. and Quartermaster).
Lieutenant N. H. Wallace.	Surgeon J. F. Brougham.
2nd Lieutenant A. G. Owen.	Assistant-Surgeon Charles.

The Regiment was 800 strong ; there was not a recruit in the ranks, and there had for many months preceding been almost a total absence of crime. Orderly-room was held but once a week, and more frequently than otherwise there was a clean sheet. The march to Umballa, a distance of sixty miles, was accomplished in thirty-eight hours, the Regiment arriving at their destination at 7 a.m. on May 15th. Orders were received on the 17th for four companies of the Regiment—Nos. 7, 8, 9, and 10—under Captain Dennis, to proceed at once to Kurnaul, the distance of forty miles being covered in two days, the remaining companies and Headquarters following at 11 p.m. on May 21st, reaching Kurnaul on the 24th. It was from this place that Lieutenant W. S. Hodson,\* of the Regiment, known as "the Indefatigable," performed the daring feat of riding by himself with despatches through a hostile country to Meerut and back, 150 miles. On arrival at Kurnaul it was found that the four companies had been ordered to Panipat, to which place the other companies and Headquarters moved. The Regiment then proceeded to Soomalka, Sursowlie, and Rae, where the rest of the Umballa contingent joined them, and the whole force moved on to Alipore, one march out of Delhi.

The Regiment was placed in the 1st Brigade, with the 75th Regiment, two squadrons of Lancers, and one troop H.A., under Brigadier Showers ; and Colonel Welchman and Captain Brown, having joined on June 5th from Dagshai, the former assumed command of the Regiment.

On the 7th Lieutenant Butler arrived at the Headquarters from leave of absence having, in his anxiety to rejoin, ridden across country from Mussoorie on one horse—110 miles in forty-nine hours. This was very good travelling for the season, but he was a splendid horseman, and used to ride a good deal in steeplechases and race meetings.

\* See Appendix "J," p. 220.

The same day orders were issued for a general advance towards Delhi, the troops, on account of the excessive heat, marching at midnight. As the town of Budlee-ka-Serai, held in great force by the enemy, was on the road between Alipore and Delhi, an immediate attack on it was ordered. For this purpose, on the early morning of the 8th June, Nos. 5 and 6 Companies of the Regiment, completed to twenty-five files each, under command of Captain Brown, with Lieutenants Daniell and Walters, formed the advanced guard, but when about 1,200 yards of the enemy's position, they found themselves under such a heavy artillery fire that they were ordered to take ground to their right, and await the arrival of their Headquarters. The whole Regiment now advanced to the attack across the open plain, the enemy's fire perceptibly increasing at every step, so that many of the men were killed or wounded, amongst the latter being Captain Greville and Lieutenant Ellis.

**Action at  
Budlee-ka-  
Serai.**

The Regiment was ordered to take advantage of some rising ground about 400 yards in advance of the enemy's main battery, from which position it attacked a village, defeating a large body of the mutineers, who had kept up a galling fire on the advancing troops. A general assault was next made on the enemy's position at Budlee-ka-Serai, which was completely successful. The mutineers retired from the village on their main army at Delhi, hotly pursued by the troops as far as the Ridge ("The Ridge" being an outcrop of rocks which formed a natural defence in front of the ground occupied by the British Army). Here the Regiment, after having been fighting and marching for fifteen consecutive hours, joined the British Headquarter camp.

Casualties: Killed, 3 privates; wounded, Captain S. Greville, 2nd Lieutenant N. Ellis, 1 non-commissioned officer, 25 privates.

The Regiment formed part of the 7th Infantry Brigade.

On the 9th there was some severe skirmishing, when Drum-Major McGill, of the Regiment, a man selected for this post on account of his grand stature and splendid figure, was accidentally left wounded on the field, his body being recovered the next morning, terribly mutilated.

About this time the men's white shirts were dyed so as to present less conspicuous marks to the enemy; there were daily skirmishes with the enemy, the Regiment losing 6 men killed and wounded on the 12th.

**Siege of Delhi.**

On June 17th four companies of the Regiment, under Major Jacob, formed part of a force under Major H. Tombs, ordered to drive the enemy out of a defended position, called "Eed Gar," near Paharipore. The work was performed with courage and decision, one of the enemy's heavy guns being captured by the troops. Captain Brown\* was dangerously wounded, the little finger of his right hand being shot off, a bullet passing through his left wrist, striking his chin, smashing his right collar-bone, and from thence lodging

\* Afterwards served in Her Majesty's Bodyguard.

in his chest ; he also received a flesh wound in his right breast. The total casualties were 2 privates killed, Captain Brown and 5 privates wounded.

On June 19th and 20th the Right Wing of the Regiment, under Major G. O. Jacob, was engaged in some severe encounters with the enemy in rear of the camp. The fighting was chiefly after dark, the men behaving with gallantry and steadiness. The casualties on the 19th were 1 non-commissioned officer and 4 privates killed, and 10 privates wounded ; and on the 20th, 1 killed and 2 wounded. Again on June 23rd, the whole Regiment was engaged from daybreak till dark.

There was a prophecy, dated immediately after the Battle of Plassey—June 23rd, 1757—to the effect that the Company's rule would last only one hundred years.\* This prophecy had often been quoted by those who for the last few years had been inciting the sepoys to mutiny ; and no doubt the feelings of the mutineers were worked upon by its repetition when they made their determined attack on June 23rd, 1857. To the Regiment, however, it was painfully memorable, for although the enemy failed to make the slightest impression on the defences, they succeeded in severely wounding Colonel Welchman, whilst gallantly leading the Regiment. Falling from his horse, he was carried to the rear, when it was found that the elbow joint of his right arm was completely shattered. Captain Dennis then took command, but was struck down by the sun, when the command was taken by Lieutenant Wemyss, the Adjutant, till the arrival of Captain Greville, who brought the Regiment into camp again.

Private John McGovern, of the Regiment, during the action on June 23rd gained the Victoria Cross for gallant conduct, " he having carried into camp a wounded comrade, under a heavy fire from the enemy's battery, at the risk of his own life."†

During this engagement the Regimental casualties were :—Killed, 1 non-commissioned officer and 10 privates ; wounded, Colonel Welchman, 3 non-commissioned officers and 26 privates. Seven officers and many men were brought in suffering from the sun.

The heat during these midday encounters was telling adversely on the men, whose health suffered terribly from exhaustion and thirst, their illnesses frequently terminating in cholera, sunstroke, and death.

On July 1st Lieutenant Money joined the Headquarters of the Regiment, in command of a detachment of about 200 men from the regimental depot at Dagshai. The ranks of the Regiment having been seriously thinned by casualties from the effect of the exposure and losses in the field, this addition to its strength was most opportune. On the 5th Major-General Sir H. W. Barnard, K.C.B., died of cholera, being succeeded by Major-General A. Wilson.

\* This prophet was not far out after all in his reckoning, for on November 1st, 1858, at a grand Durbar at Allahabad, Lord Canning announced that the Company's possessions in India were to be transferred to the Crown.

† See Appendix " K," p. 221.



On July 9th an abortive attack was made by the enemy on the camp. There had been heavy firing all the morning, and about 11 a.m. the "Alarm" and "Assembly" were sounded. Whilst the Regiment was falling in, a heavy musketry fire was kept up on the right; at the same time a frightened mob of camp followers rushed through the camp crying out that the enemy were following them.

There being no time for regular formation, the Regiment went off at the double to the right rear of the camp, where it was met by some of the native artillerymen, who reported that the native cavalry had mutinied and were attempting to carry away the guns.

The Regiment, little over 100 strong, the rest being on picquet duty, found themselves opposed by about 500 cavalry. These they quickly drove off and the affair was over before any reinforcements arrived. Casualties: Wounded, 3 privates.

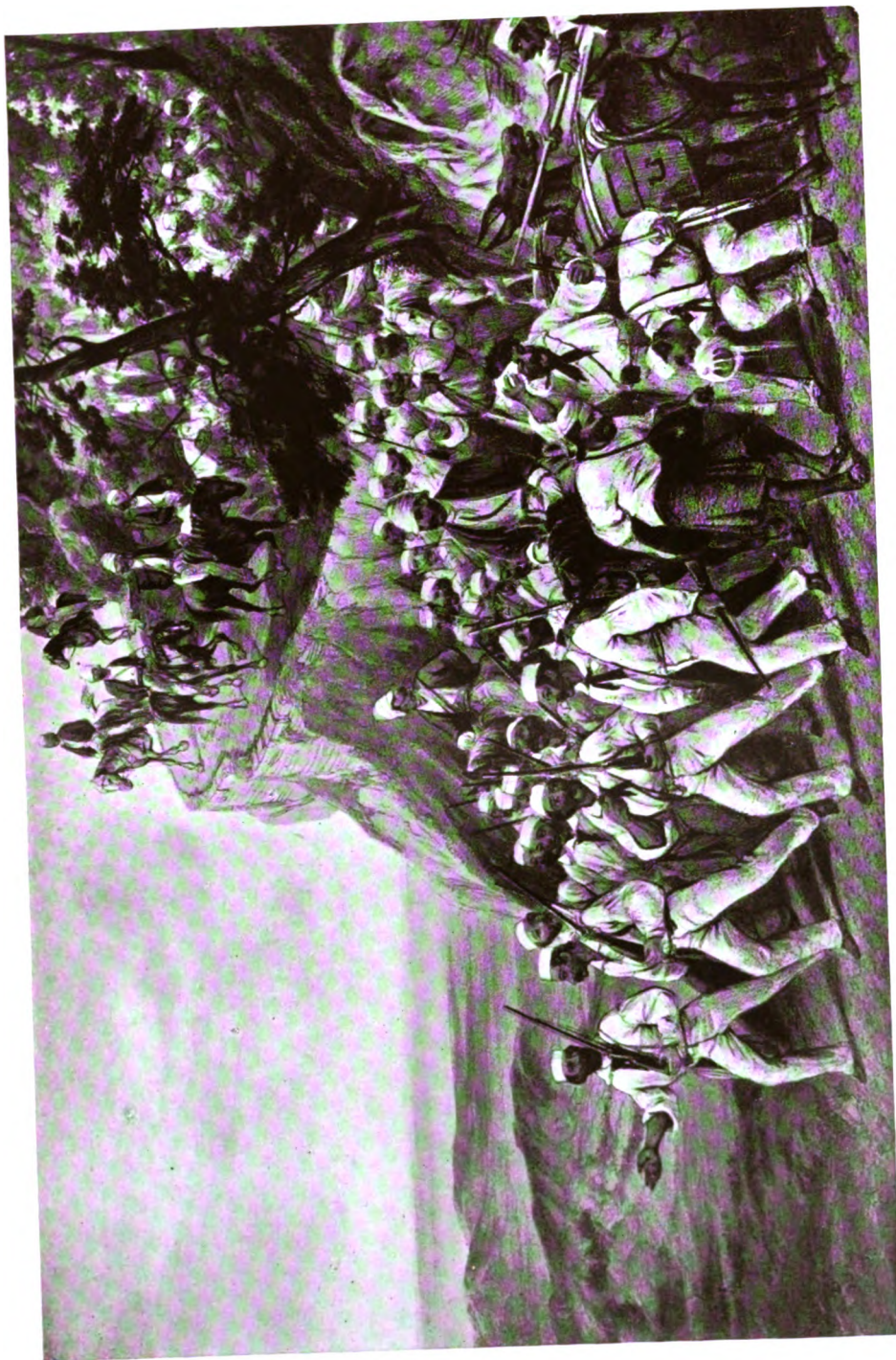
It was perhaps fortunate that the troops before Delhi were at this time in complete ignorance of what had been taking place at a distance from their scene of action. The reports which had reached the camp were encouraging, and produced a reasonable hope of the speedy arrival of additional troops. It was not known that at Cawnpore the British were beleaguered in their entrenchments, that the city of Lucknow was in the full possession of the rebels, and that nearly all the stations, civil and military, in the Bengal Presidency were in the hands of the mutineers.

During the afternoon of July 14th the Regiment was ordered out to clear the Sabzi Mandi of the enemy. Marching straight down the road which leads to Delhi, it received the fire of the enemy on both flanks; No. 1 Company was ordered to skirmish on the right, and No. 2 on the left. The enemy showed considerable determination, repeatedly charging in masses with fixed bayonets, but were finally driven back into the gardens and enclosures about 300 yards from the city.

The Sabzi Mandi having been cleared of the enemy, the troops were ordered to return to camp. During these operations Lieutenant H. M. Wemyss, the Adjutant of the Regiment, was hit by a musket ball on his side, but refused to retire, and continued to perform his duties. Lieutenant J. W. Daniell was also wounded, but in his case the injury was so severe that he was obliged to retire, "though the brave young officer was loth to do so, and endeavoured, by attempting to whistle, to hide the agony he suffered."\* The casualties were:—Killed, 2 privates; wounded, Lieutenant J. W. Daniell, 8 non-commissioned officers, and 54 privates.

As the troops were returning to camp, after their hard day's work, they passed two men of the Sikh Infantry assisting a wounded comrade, who was unable to walk, but the enemy's fire became so hot that they refused to carry the wounded man farther. Captain Greville ordered the Sikhs to bring on their

\* "1st Bengal Fusiliers in the Delhie Campaign," by J. P. Brougham. See Blackwood's Magazine for January, 1859.



THE 1ST BATTALION MARCHING DOWN FROM DAGSHAI, 1857.



comrade, but they, declining to further risk their lives, left him to his fate. Greville, running back a distance of some fifty yards, under a storm of bullets, placed the wounded Sikh on his back, and carried him to a place of safety, for which act he received the thanks of Brigadier Showers.

The heat in camp at this time was terrific, and it appears marvellous that disease was not more prevalent. The men were exposed during the day to a tropical sun, and all night to malarious dews ; the air was tainted with every kind of smell ; there was a total absence of any attempt at sanitary arrangements ; camels and other animals, who had died or been killed, lay in all directions in close proximity to the camp, and dense clouds of flies rendered it unsafe to eat or drink without muslin having been previously placed over the face, the drinking pot and plates. There thus appeared to be every inducement for disease, but, with the exception of occasional cases of sunstroke and cholera, and the casualties of war, the troops were far more healthy than might have been expected, comparing not unfavourably with the time when European troops are housed in barracks, with every comfort and luxury about them.

On July 24th news reached the camp of the treacherous capture and terrible fate of General Wheeler's garrison at Cawnpore, where "a great multitude" of women and children had been fiendishly hacked to pieces by the town butchers, under the orders of the ever-infamous Dhundu Pant, called the Nana Sahib. Up to this time the troops before Delhi had been cheered by reports of the rapid advance of a European force, but now they knew the truth. Wheeler's brave force, consisting of officers, soldiers, with many women and young children, had been betrayed into a confidence which cost all of them their lives, save four, one of these four being Lieutenant Delafosse, who afterwards joined the 101st Royal Bengal Fusiliers, and rose to command the Regiment. All communication between Delhi and the lower provinces was closed, and the little British Army before Delhi was left to accomplish unaided the stupendous work it had undertaken, its sole hope being in the courage, discipline, and determination of the men.

It became evident, on the morning of August 1st, that the enemy had arranged an elaborate plan for a vigorous attack on the British position. At 6 a.m. masses of sepoy regiments were drawn up in battle array in front of the British defences, and an attack by successive divisions was continued until the morning of the 3rd, the firing on both sides being during this time uninterrupted, but in the main the enemy attacks lacked determination, though they made some bold charges against the batteries.

This grand effort to push the British from their position behind the Ridge failed, and, as the troops had all been acting solely on the defensive, the regimental casualties were trifling, being 3 privates wounded.

The constant outpost duty, although it was undertaken with the utmost alacrity and good humour, was found to be very irksome to the men, the Regiment being constantly on duty at "The Metcalf Stables," "The Mosque,"

and "Flagstaff" picquets; "but the most revolting and unwelcome outpost was commonly called 'The Valley of Death.' It was a small old ruined mosque or shrine in the gorge of the valley, in rear of our batteries, and was under a plunging fire from all the enemy's missiles that passed over them. There was no cover, as it was impossible to enter the building, owing to its being literally crowded with cobras, and on the road where two of our sentries were posted there were dead camels lying in the last stage of decomposition. A night on this picquet, in the thick, muggy atmosphere of the rainy season in July and August, under a heavy fire, was almost too much for the best intentioned soldier to bear."\*

On August 11th the Regiment was attached to the flying column, under General Nicholson, who, with his troops from the Punjab, had joined the besieging army on the 7th.

On the 12th the Regiment and the 2nd European Bengal Fusilier Regiment were employed with a force under Brigadier-General St. G. Showers, which had been ordered to surprise some of the enemy's picquets outside the Cashmere Gate. This force quietly moved off at 2.30 a.m., the Regiment, under Major Jacob, being ordered to attack the picquet at "Ludlow Castle."

**Capture of  
Ludlow Castle.**

Nos. 8, 9, and 10 Companies of the Regiment, under Captain Greville, were ordered to form the attacking party, and to advance in skirmishing order; the remainder of the troops being held in reserve. The ground was open in front, and, under orders previously issued, strict silence was observed. As the advance party moved along an order was given by their Commander in a whisper to fix bayonets, and pass the word on to the next files; and this order was obeyed without a sound. A challenge from one of the enemy's sentries broke the stillness—"Hookum dar?" As the party closed on the enemy, silence was no longer necessary, and the soldier challenged by the sentry replied: "Take that," and, firing at the same time, shot him dead. It being still quite dark, there was great difficulty in ascertaining the exact position, but, from the direction of the challenge, it was evident that the detachment had overlapped the enemy's position. Greville, therefore, closed his troops on their left, and at the same time brought their right shoulders forward, quickly forming his companies in good order opposite "Ludlow Castle." The attacking party opened fire, preparatory to their charge. The enemy attempted to bring their batteries to bear on the advancing troops, but there was evidently no order amongst them, for they hesitated; and, after firing two of their guns, the main body of their troops attempted to escape. The attacking party at once closed on the battery from whence the two shots had been fired, and Private Reagan, rushing at a 24-pounder howitzer which was charged with grape, attacked the gunners single-handed and bayoneted one of them just as he was applying the portfire. Unhappily, Reagan fell, badly wounded and permanently disabled, but he had the

\* From the Diary of an officer of the 1st Bengal Fusiliers.

satisfaction of knowing that in risking his own life he saved that of many of his comrades. At this time the day began to dawn, enabling the attacking party to clear the post completely of the enemy, and carry off four of his guns—two 9-pounders, one 6-pounder, and one 24-pounder howitzer—which, with their tumbrils, horses, and appointments, were at once escorted into camp, Lieutenant W. H. Warner, who rendered good service on this occasion, escaped unhurt. Brigadier Showers, in his despatch to the General Commanding at Delhi, makes special reference to “the steadiness, silence and order with which the 1st Bengal Fusiliers advanced to the attack on the enemy’s guns, which was well conceived and gallantly executed by Major Jacob and the officers and men of the Regiment under his command, and Captain S. Greville, of the Regiment, commanded the skirmishers who made the first attack on the guns.”

The total loss of the Brigade on this occasion was 19 killed and 93 wounded : the Regiment had 1 non-commissioned officer and 3 privates killed and Captain S. Greville, Lieutenant A. G. Owen, 4 non-commissioned officers, and 24 privates wounded.

On August 24th the Flying Column, under Brigadier-General J. Nicholson, which consisted of the Regiment, the 61st Regiment, 2nd Punjabis, 9th Lancers, Guides Cavalry, and 18 guns, was dispatched against the enemy, who were trying to intercept the siege train coming from Ferozepore. They held a strong position at Najafghur. An officer on the 1st Bengal Fusiliers, who was present, gives the following description of the expedition :—

**Action at  
Najafghur.**

“Our column marched out of camp at 11 p.m. on the 24th taking the route across country, the ground on account of the rains being very heavy, so that we had repeatedly to unharness the horses from the tumbrils and guns and drag them through the morass, putting 100 of our men to each gun. At noon on the 25th we halted for an hour, when grog was served out to our men. At about 4 p.m., whilst the men were wading through a jheel up to their waists in mud and water, the enemy opened fire on our Regiment with shrapnel from an old ruined Fort, which was concealed by some rising ground at a distance of about 400 yards. Some of our horse artillery and cavalry had made a detour round the morass to our right front. Our Regiment was now ordered to form line, taking advantage of the cover afforded by a small ridge directly in front, and at a distance of about 300 yards from the Fort. General Nicholson addressed the troops, and, turning to the Regiment, he said : ‘I have nothing to say to the 1st Fusiliers : they will do as they always do.’ Major Jacob now gave us the order to advance in line, which was done in magnificent style, the men reserving their fire, although the enemy’s artillery and musketry was pouring shot amongst us. When we were at a distance of about 100 yards from the Fort, Jacob gave the word to prepare to charge, when the front rank came to the long trail, the whole advancing straight as an arrow, when Jacob, seeing the men were as steady as rocks, gave the word to charge, when, with a wild cheer, the Regiment dashed at the Fort, and,

scrambling over the defences, came face to face with the mutineers, who held their ground until our men were close upon them, when the enemy gave way : the Fort being quickly cleared of the mutineers, our Regiment formed up on the other side, and then rapidly advanced on the enemy's camp, which was to our front : but the capture of the Fort had evidently disheartened them, for they fled across the canal, leaving the whole of their camp equipage, baggage, and 13 guns in our possession, we pushing on towards the canal bridge, which we destroyed.

"The enemy now returned to the bank of the canal, and, bringing with them two 9-pounders, opened a galling fire on our working parties ; but Major Tombs, having brought up his horse artillery, forced them to retire with the loss of one of their tumbrils, which he blew up with one of his shells. About two hours after sunrise next day we commenced our return march, halting at 11 a.m. for breakfast, this being the only meal the soldiers had partaken of since they left our camp at 11 p.m. on the 24th : thus they had been thirty-six hours without any regular food. Elephants were sent out from camp to bring in our wounded and footsore men, but one only of these useful animals was required to assist seven of our men who had been injured by an explosion. The Regiment reached our camp about 4 p.m. on August 26th, after an absence of forty-one hours, during which time our men had only partaken of one meal."

The casualties were :—Killed, 3 privates ; wounded, Major Jacob, 1 non-commissioned officer, and 11 privates.

On the night of September 7th the Regiment was employed in front of the Cashmere Bastion, breaking ground for the breaching batteries.

On the night of the 9th it was again employed in making the breaching batteries in front of the "Water Bastion," the enemy keeping up a heavy fire all night, but only two men were wounded. On the morning of the 11th the batteries opened fire with terrific effect on the Cashmere Bastion. All through the 12th and 13th the roar of the fifty heavy guns was heard day and night, without intermission.

**Preparation  
for the  
Assault.**

On the 13th arrangements for the assault were approved of by Major-General Archdale Wilson, and ordered to be carried into effect.

The Regiment, which had left Dagshai 800 strong, was now reduced to scarcely more than one-half, about 400 only being available for the contemplated assault. A similar decrease of strength had taken place in other regiments : thus General Wilson had only about 3,600 thoroughly reliable troops for the assault, 1,700 Europeans, and 1,900 natives.

The army was divided for the attack into five columns ; the first, commanded by Brigadier-General Nicholson, consisted of the Regiment, 250 men ; Her Majesty's 75th Regiment, 300 men ; and 2nd Punjab Native Infantry, 450 men.



This column was ordered "to storm the breach near the Cashmere Bastion, and escalate the face of the Bastion." Brigadier-General Nicholson, having been appointed to command the advance storming-party, assembled the commandants and seconds-in-command, and explained to them in detail how they were to act as soon as they had scaled the walls, ending his instructions with the following words: "Don't press the enemy too hard; let them have a golden bridge to retire by."

The second column, under Brigadier-General Jones, C.B., was to storm the breach in the "Water Bastion"; it consisted of the 2nd Bengal Europeans, Her Majesty's 8th Regiment, 4th Sikhs,

The third column, under Colonel Campbell, of Her Majesty's 52nd Regiment, was to be held in readiness "to assault by the Cashmere Gate after the explosion by the Engineers should have taken place."

The fourth column, commanded by Major C. Reid, of the Sirmoor Battalion, consisted of a detachment of the Regiment, Left Wing (150 men), under Captain Wriford, detachments of Her Majesty's 60th and 61st, together with the Guides Infantry and the Sirmoor Battalion of Gurkhas, and about 800 of the Cashmere troops (Golab Sing's). This column was ordered to clear the gardens and blocks of buildings "at Paharipore and Kissengunge, and to enter the city by the Lahore Gate."

The fifth column, the reserve, was commanded by Brigadier Longfield.

On September 14th the Headquarters of the Regiment marched from the camp at 3 a.m., having been selected by Brigadier-General

**Assault on  
Delhi.**

Nicholson to lead the first assaulting column in the attack on Delhi; but it was not until some time after sunrise that the Regiment, under Major G. Jacob, advanced: his Adjutant, Lieutenant Wemyss, being beside him. On reaching "Ludlow Castle," the scaling-ladders were brought to the front, Nos. 1 and 2 Companies of the Regiment forming the first scaling party, under Lieutenant G. N. Money.\* Nicholson, before advancing to the assault, had separated his storming column into two divisions, the Regiment forming the first, Her Majesty's 75th the second.

On emerging into the open, a terrific fire was poured on the stormers, who, charging with a cheer, were followed closely by the rest of the Regiment. On nearing the Cashmere Bastion, the ditch was found so filled with fallen masonry that the men were enabled to slide down the incline and plant the ladders with such rapidity that the top of the ramparts was quickly reached in spite of a storm of bullets and missiles hurled down from the walls above. Notwithstanding this opposition, the ramparts were gained before the mutineers had collected their forces in sufficient numbers to make a very determined resistance; and thus a firm footing was obtained on the breach before any attempt had been made to blow open the Cashmere Gate. By this time the 75th Regiment had scaled the walls and forced the breach, and Nicholson's two divisions having united, the battle for the mastery of the ramparts raged

\* Afterwards served in Her Majesty's Bodyguard.



furiously. The men, though vastly outnumbered, fought fiercely, striking down the mutineers with their clubbed muskets when they could not succeed in thrusting home their bayonets. The dense mass of the mutineers crowding to the front could not withstand the eager onslaught of the men, who for nearly three months had been thirsting for this day of retribution. This was not the usual excitement of battle: it was the individual burning lust of revenge for the atrocities committed by the mutineers, and it is hardly possible to realize the intensity of passion that animated every British soldier that day. There were volunteers in the ranks, conductors, and non-commissioned staff who had lost all that had made life most dear; and these men dealt death around at every stroke, crying aloud, above the din of battle, "Where is my wife?" "Where are my poor children?" (An officer of the 1st Bengal Fusiliers writes, "I saw this myself.") It was a just retribution.

Brigadier-General Nicholson now gave instructions to his commanders to push forward and occupy the church, as well as the adjacent buildings, all of which were held in strong force by the enemy. Nicholson led the 1st Division against the church, which, after a gallant assault, was captured at the point of the bayonet, the 2nd Division at the same time succeeding in possessing itself of many of the buildings in the vicinity of the "Main Guard" and the church. These important positions having been secured, and small parties left in possession, the Regiment and Her Majesty's 75th Regiment assembled at the "Main Guard," when orders were issued for the troops to push on in the direction of the Lahore Gate.

Some thirty men, under Lieutenant Butler, and about fifty Gurkhas, under Lieutenant Davidson, became detached from the main body, and, following up the retreating sepoys, actually advanced as far as the gate of the arsenal and occupied it without knowing the important position they had taken. Butler, however, knowing that the Regiment had been ordered to advance along the walls to the right of the Cashmere Gate, felt bound to follow, and the party, passing through the compound of Skinner's house, in rear of the Moree Bastion, found some bottles of brandy laid out, no doubt, to tempt the British soldiers. The officers made the men smash most of the bottles by telling them that the brandy was poisoned, till one old soldier (in every sense of the word) took up one, carefully examined the neck, and then said, "This has never been poisoned; the capsule is the same as when it was corked." And the bottle went into his haversack.

Very slight opposition was met with between the Moree Bastion and the Cabul Gate, where the party rejoined the Regiment; the enemy were on the run, and the Burn Bastion and Lahore Gate would probably have been captured at this time if the pursuit could have been kept up; but there was a fatal delay of two hours on account of the non-arrival of No. 4 Column from Kissen-gunge, and this gave the enemy time to rally.

In the meantime Lieutenant G. Money, who before the assault had received orders to push along the walls to his right as soon as he got inside,



THE STORMING OF THE KASHMIR GATE, DELHI, 1857.



proceeded to execute these instructions. As soon as the Cashmere Bastion had been cleared, he turned to the right along the lane below the ramparts, accompanied by Serjeant-Major Holford and some of the men of Nos. 1, 2, and 3 Companies. Money was unsupported, for the main column under Jacob had gone forward to storm the church as soon as it had scaled the walls.

Having proceeded a short distance down the lane—between the houses and the ramparts—the detachment came to a slope leading up to the ramparts, which Money, followed by Holford and a number of his men, ascended. The ramparts being defended by the mutineers, there was hard fighting as the party pushed forward, and half-way to the Moree Bastion they came across a 12-pounder gun worked by the enemy. This gun was quickly turned towards the advancing party, and rapidly loaded with grape, and it now became a race between the gunners and the fusiliers as to whether the latter could reach the gun before the former could load and fire.

When within a few yards of the muzzle, the gunners leapt aside, and the port-fire was applied; the priming flashed, but the gun was silent. In their panic and confusion the enemy had neglected to prick the cartridge, so that it did not ignite.

Expecting that the attacking party would be blown away, the enemy had stood their ground, but in a couple of seconds the party were upon them, and not one escaped. The Moree Bastion was soon reached, and it was found full of men busily working their guns, their whole attention fixed on the breaching batteries outside.

**Capture of the  
Moree Bastion.**

The gunners, who were armed with swords only, surprised at the sudden appearance of the British, jumped in numbers through the embrasures and escaped, whilst others turned and attacked sword in hand. One stalwart sepoy rushed on Lieutenant Money, slashing at him so fast right and left that he had great difficulty in defending himself with his light regulation sword. Private Patrick Flynn, No. 3 Company, came to his officer's assistance, rushing at the gunner with his musket at the charge. The mutineer jumped aside and evaded the thrust, and, at the same time catching the musket under his left arm, aimed a blow at Flynn's head, but the latter's impetus had been so great that the two men appeared locked in each other's arms, and the hilt of the mutineer's sword came on Flynn's head, who, half stunned, gave his enemy a blow between the eyes which sent the sepoy head over heels, and before he could recover himself Money ran his sword through him. In a short time the Moree Bastion was taken, but the artillery working in the British No. 1 Siege Battery on the plain outside, being in ignorance of what had taken place above, still poured salvos of grape on the bastion, continuing until the signals were understood, when the artillerymen outside, mounting their parapets, gave the detachment a ringing cheer of recognition. Immediately below the Moree Bastion, on the plain in front of the British siege batteries, the enemy had cut trenches and rifle pits, which were filled with their men, who, startled by the behaviour of the British artillerymen to their front, now

for the first time realized what had taken place above. For a few seconds they stood stupefied, not knowing how to act, whilst the detachment turned upon them one of their own guns, which caused them to leap from their trenches, and, as they bolted across the open plain, they had to run the gauntlet between their own guns above and the British below.

By this time it became evident that the main column had not followed in support, and Money was hardly pressed, when, fortunately, a party of the 9th Lancers appeared below, the officer in command asking how things were going on. On learning that Money had some difficulty in holding his own, he dismounted about a dozen of his men who had been instructed in gunnery, and they, clambering up into the battery, took charge of the guns. Fortunately there was a breastwork in rear of the Moree Bastion with one embrasure, in which they placed a brass 6-pounder gun. Two or three determined attacks to regain the lost position were made by the enemy, who charged up close to the muzzle of this gun, and wounded two of the Lancer gunners. Matters were now looking serious, for the numbers of the enemy in front of the breastwork increased, whilst those of the British diminished.

Colonel Greathead (commanding Her Majesty's 8th Foot) now arrived with some of his men, part of the 75th, 2nd Bengal Fusiliers, and Punjab Infantry. Almost immediately afterwards the Headquarters of the Regiment, under Major Jacob, arrived, having been delayed whilst recapturing some of the buildings close inside the Cashmere Gate.

The Regiment now pushed on towards the Lahore Gate, to reach which they had to force a way through a passage running parallel with, and immediately below, the ramparts. It was whilst the Regiment was advancing towards this passage that Major Jacob fell mortally wounded. "He, poor fellow, was shot in the thigh, and died that night. As he lay writhing in his agony on the ground, unable to stand, two or three men went to take him to the rear, but a sense of duty was superior to bodily pain, and he refused their aid, desiring them to go on and take the guns."

**Advance to the  
Lahore Gate.**

Captain Greville, the next senior officer who was close at hand, assumed command of the Regiment.

In addition to the many guns on the ramparts there were three placed by the enemy to sweep the passage; these kept up a heavy fire on the advancing troops. A portion of the Regiment was above on the ramparts, and a portion below, Greville being with the latter.

The men, driving back the enemy, soon reached the guns. Greville called out to the party above to "spike the guns." There was a moment's hesitation, then Colour-Serjeant Jordan ran forward, followed by Corporal Keefe (No. 3), Privates Bradley and L. Murphy. Jordan spiked the gun with Corporal Keefe's ramrod, which he snapped off in the vent, passing the broken portion to Captain Greville, who, rushing forward, spiked the gun below. Corporal

Keefe, Privates Bradley and Murphy were all killed whilst assisting Colour-Serjeant Jordan to spike the guns, round which "the bullets fell like hail."

The houses on the city side of the passage, as well as the flat roofs above, were occupied by crowds of mutineers who poured a murderous fire on the advancing troops from the windows, loopholes, and housetops. Greville proposed to break into the houses, and attempt to take the enemy in rear and flank, but Nicholson ordered otherwise, calling out to the Fusiliers: "Charge down the lane, the 75th will charge along the ramparts and carry the position above."

The officers and men now pushed forward towards the Burn Bastion, which Lieutenants Butler and Speke and about a dozen men attempted to climb; but they could not ascend more than a few feet. Butler, ordering his men to drop down and protect themselves, found himself pinned in between two bayonets, which had been thrust at him through the loopholes on either side. Whilst in this position he received a blow on his head from a stone thrown at him from above, which felled him to the ground, but recovering himself, he quickly fired his revolver through the loopholes, and escaped from under the bastion before the enemy could recover.

General Nicholson was at this moment struck down mortally wounded. Speke also fell mortally wounded; and Greville, in re-forming the Regiment, was shot through the right shoulder.

Captain Caulfield (attached), Lieutenants Wemyss (the Adjutant), Speke and Woodcock, were all wounded about this time, as well as a large proportion of the rank and file. Captain Stafford (attached) now assumed command. The attempt to force the passage was evidently hopeless; the men were utterly exhausted, having been twelve hours under arms, engaged in a desperate conflict, parched with thirst, and faint from want of food. Captain W. Brooks, of Her Majesty's 75th Regiment, having by seniority assumed command of the column, ordered the troops to retire on the Cabul Gate, eight officers and about fifty men being placed *hors de combat*. Brooks says in his despatch: "Finding that each effort only caused further loss, without success, I formally drew off my men and retired to the Cabul Gate," and in his despatch of February 7th, 1858, he says: "The 1st European Bengal Fusiliers, which had been led to the escalade of the left face of the Cashmere Bastion by the late Brigadier-General Nicholson, after effecting an entrance into the town, stormed the church and adjacent buildings, and charged the enemy as they retreated from the Water Bastion; we then moved on in pursuit of the enemy, Major Jacob being wounded immediately on our quitting the Cabul Gate. The command of that Regiment then devolved upon Captain Greville, a gallant officer, who has served with it on many a hardly-contested field, and on this occasion was at its head when the Regiment captured two guns. I am most desirous the good and gallant services rendered by Captain Greville should be duly acknowledged." (Delhi despatches.)

Considering the fearful loss sustained, and the hopelessness of the attempt to force the passage, which was closed at the farther end, Captain Brook's order for the retirement of the Regiment to the Cabul Gate before there was further sacrifice of life, was under the circumstances, not only justifiable, but well judged and right. The passage of this lane should never have been attempted. "And if the operation of turning out the sepoys had been left to the 1st Fusiliers and 75th, we should have cleared the ramparts and lane without loss ; instead of rushing at them, we should have entered the houses and got in the enemy's rear."\*

During the fighting at the Cabul Gate, on September 14th, Serjeant J. M'Guire† and Drummer M. Ryan,† of the Regiment, gained Victoria Crosses for conspicuous gallantry in throwing burning boxes of ammunition over the parapet, thus saving many lives.

Attention must now be directed to the 4th Column, under Major Reid, for with it was the Left Wing (about 150 men) of the Regiment, under Captain C. R. Wriford. Reid had orders to take ground to the right, and, after having cleared the suburbs of the Kissengunge, Trevelyangunge, and Paharipore, to advance on the Lahore Gate, through which he was instructed to push his way into the city. With the Wing, under Wriford, were the following officers : Lieutenants E. A. C. Lambert, A. G. Owen, W. H. Warner, F. D. M. Brown, and Captain McBarnett (55th Native Infantry), attached.

Unfortunately some delay took place in the advance of the fourth column, on account of the non-arrival of the horse artillery, who had mistaken their orders.

Reid was unwilling to advance without the guns ; but the heavy firing to his left convinced him that the troops had already engaged the enemy, and might want help ; he therefore ordered a general advance, without waiting for the artillery.

As the troops advanced those leading were shot down in such numbers that the road became cumbered by the heaps of dead and wounded. Reid now gave the order : " Fusiliers to the front," and with a rush they charged across the bridge. Reid led the charge, but soon fell badly wounded, and was carried to the rear. Captain Wriford and many of the officers were engaged in single combat with the mutineers ; whilst the ranks were being rapidly thinned by the musketry-fire poured upon them by the thousands of the enemy behind their barricades. Here Captain McBarnett was shot in the forehead, dying instantly, and Lieutenant Owen was severely wounded in the head, but was saved from falling under the tulwars of the enemy by Lieutenant Lambert. Here also fell Serjeant Dunleavy, whose distinguished bravery was mentioned in the despatches of the commander of the column.

Having carried the bridge and the barricade, the Fusiliers pushed their way through a garden and a mosque, but the fire was still very heavy, and no

\* Extract from a letter from one of the officers in command.

† See Appendices " L " and " M," pp. 222, 223.



cover was found under which the broken detachments could be formed up. To advance without artillery was certain death to all, for the road leading to the Lahore Gate was defended by many thousands of cavalry and infantry. It was impossible to do otherwise than retire on the picquets ; and although this course was, under the circumstances, judicious, the object for which the fourth column had advanced had not been attained. Thus terminated this disastrous affair, in which the composite column lost one-half its members. The losses of the Left Wing were at least 19 killed and 34 wounded.

The retreat of the fourth column was conducted with great difficulty, and with many risks. Lieutenant Evans, of the Bengal Artillery, who commanded the guns at the " Crow's Nest " picquet, seeing the dangerous position in which the retreating column was placed, judiciously brought his guns to bear on the enemy who were pressing on the troops, and thus, covering the retreat, prevented what otherwise might have been a terrible disaster.

The total regimental casualties for the 14th were :—Killed, Captain G. G. McBarnett (55th Native Infantry), attached, 4 non-commissioned officers, 38 privates ; died of wounds, Major G. Jacob ; wounded, Captains S. Greville, J. P. Caulfield (3rd Native Infantry), attached, W. Graydon (16th Native Infantry), attached, Lieutenants H. M. Wemyss, E. A. C. Lambert, A. G. Owen, E. H. Woodcock (55th Native Infantry), attached, E. Speke (65th Native Infantry), attached, 3 non-commissioned officers, and 73 privates. Captain H. F. M. Boisragon, of the Regiment, second-in-command of the Kumaon Battalion, was also wounded.

A monument, the epitaph on which was written, at Captain Wriford's request, by Dr. O'Callaghan, Surgeon-in-Chief of the Artillery, Delhi, was erected at Kissengunge by the Regiment :—

**" HERE REPOSE THE FOLLOWING OFFICERS, NON-COMMISSIONED OFFICERS, AND MEN OF THE 1ST BENGAL FUSILIERS, KILLED IN THE ATTACK ON THE ENEMY'S FORTIFIED POSITION OF KISSENGUNGE, ON THE MORNING OF THE SUCCESSFUL ASSAULT AND STORM OF DELHI.**

	CAPTAIN G. G. MCBARNETT, 55TH N.I. (ATTACHED).	
SERJEANT	ALFRED WEBB.	PRIVATE GEORGE W. COOK.
"	MICHAEL HUTCHINSON.	" JOHN DEHENNY.
"	SAMUEL PIVET.	" JOHN LAVERY.
"	AUSTIN DUNLEAVY	" CHARLES FRENCH.
CORPORAL	CHARLES POGSON.	" WALTER HASTINGS.
"	THOMAS RODGERS.	" WILLIAM STEPHENSON.
"	WILLIAM FISHER.	" JOHN WOOD.
PRIVATE	JOHN TENPENNY.	" JOHN MCGOVERN.
"	JAMES STAPLETON.	" ELIJAH TAYLOR.
"	DENIS MOONEY.	

**FAMILIAR WITH THE ASPECT OF DEATH, WHOM THEY HAD CONFRONTED IN SO MANY BATTLES FROM WHICH THEY ALWAYS EMERGED VICTORIOUS, THEY MET HIS LAST INEVITABLE CALL HERE WITH INTREPIDITY, FALLING ON THE 14TH SEPTEMBER, 1857, IN THE FAITHFUL DISCHARGE OF THEIR DUTY.**

**THIS MONUMENT WAS ERECTED BY THEIR OFFICERS AND FELLOW SOLDIERS OF THE 1ST REGIMENT EUROPEAN BENGAL FUSILIERS IN THEIR REMEMBRANCE, WHICH IS PART OF ITS GLORY.**

**THE REST REMAINS WITH THE LORD.**



The positions of the besieging army on September 14th were as follows :— The first, second, and third columns had succeeded in gaining a footing inside the city, but they were with difficulty holding their own, whilst the Engineers were rapidly constructing barricades and loopholes in the houses. The fourth column, terribly reduced in numbers, occupied outposts in rear of Hindu Rao's house.

The 15th was comparatively a day of rest, and towards evening detachments of the Regiment were placed on the ramparts between the Moree Bastion and the Cabul Gate, the former being now held by a party under Lieutenant Money.

About this time a serious casualty occurred. Six serjeants and six orderlies of the Regiment were in a small brick room, where the daily rations were being served out to the men. There was only one small window, facing towards the enemy, who were at this time firing on the building. Suddenly a shell lodging on the window-sill, fell into the room and immediately exploded, nine out of the twelve men being killed, Colour- and Canteen-Serjeant London, one of the best non-commissioned officers in the Regiment, amongst them.

On the 16th a forward movement was made. Colonel Burn, who had been appointed to the command of the Regiment with which were Lieutenants Cairnes and Vibart (doing duty), occupied a large house about a quarter of a mile in advance, with a party of forty men. The Headquarters of the Regiment came up next day, leaving only a small party under Lieutenant Money at the Moree Bastion.

During the 18th and 19th there was constant fighting and skirmishing, when some decided advantages were gained. Lieutenant Wallace, with twenty men, occupied a house farther in advance, in the direction of Burn Bastion, and Lieutenant Vibart with a like number of men succeeded in possessing himself of an important position ; and these advantages having been gained by sapping, the loss was small. On September 19th the Burn Bastion was

**Capture of  
Delhi.**

captured, and on the 20th the Headquarters of the Regiment advanced to the Lahore Gate. The enemy had evacuated this with the rest of the city, which was finally captured that day.

On the 23rd the Left Wing of the Regiment, now only about eighty strong, under Lieutenant E. A. C. Lambert, marched through the Lahore Gate, and joined the Headquarters, which occupied a large house near the Delhi Gate. On this day Lieutenant Cairnes, who had taken a foremost part in the siege, and who by his courage and example had done admirable service, was seized with cholera, to which he succumbed in a few hours. His death was a sad blow ; he was popular with the officers and a favourite amongst the men.

But an incident full of interest savouring of romance—an incident which materially affected the future—was at this time occurring ; the prime mover and instigator being an officer of the Regiment.

Lieutenant W. S. Hodson—called by his brother officers “the Indefatigable”—in addition to his duties as head of the intelligence department, commanded a cavalry regiment commonly known as “Hodson’s Horse”; the troopers, Sikhs—wild-looking, determined men, clothed in dark blue with enormous scarlet turbans and sashes—venerated Hodson, who was a commander after their own hearts, and whose word to them was supreme.

Information reached Hodson that the Emperor, with his two sons and grandson, had taken refuge in the Mausoleum of Humayun, which forms an important suburb of Delhi.

Hodson, without delay, obtained the permission of the General-in-Command to seize the King, the sole condition attached to this permission being that His Majesty was to receive no personal injury or insult.

Delighted with the almost plenary powers conferred upon him, Hodson, having selected a few of his troopers, galloped off in the direction of Humayun’s tomb. The place was crowded with soldiers, so Hodson, unwilling suddenly to alarm the crowd, concealed his men amongst some buildings close at hand, and sent a message to the King informing him that he must surrender, for the troops were waiting to receive him. Terrified at the aspect of affairs, the King submitted, on the sole condition that “Hodson Bahadour” would spare his life. Hodson, supported by a few of his troopers, soon appeared before the entrance of the tomb. The royal guards on duty at the gate approached; Hodson advanced, and, drawing his cigar box from his pocket, ordered the King’s sentry to fetch a light. Half-stupefied and overawed, the man obeyed, the escort watching with pride the sang-froid of their leader. The Emperor, Bahadour Shah, the last representative “of a dynasty the most magnificent the world had ever seen,” came slowly towards the gate, borne in his palanquin. Hodson, approaching, saluted his royal prisoner, and, again assuring him that his life was secured, the King moved on, guarded by Hodson’s men, and entered the Imperial City by the Lahore Gate, and was handed over to the principal civil officer for safe custody.

No promise of safety had been made to the royal Princes, who still remained concealed in Humayun’s tomb, and who, the next morning, September 21st, were ordered to be unearthed. Hodson, this time with his second-in-command, Lieutenant MacDowell, and 100 picked troopers, again proceeded to the Tomb. The Princes begged the promise of their lives, but Hodson replied that he “had come to seize the Shahzadas, and he intended to do so, dead or alive.” The prisoners, who now surrendered at discretion, were placed in a cart, and the cortège moved on towards the city. There were still some 6,000 servants and followers of the royal household in the enclosure of this marble tomb, but none had the courage to draw sword to rescue their King from imprisonment, or his sons from death. The crowd pushed rudely forward, when Hodson, with MacDowell by his side, and four troopers only at his back, ordered them to lay down their arms. Instinctively they submitted, there seeming to be a magic in Hodson’s commanding figure and address. At his

bidding the crowd all laid down their arms ; they knew there had been treachery in their camp, and that their only hope of safety lay in submission to the man whose look was proof that he meant to be obeyed.

The collection of the ceded arms was left to Hodson's troopers, he riding after the Princes, who had by this time neared the gaol, where the surging crowd, including many escaped convicts, was pressing on the carts and escort. Dashing forward and haranguing his troopers in a voice which he intended to be heard by all, Hodson exclaimed that the prisoners "were the butchers who had murdered our wives and children," and that they should suffer for their crime. He then ordered the procession to stand still, the Princes to dismount and strip, when, seizing a carbine from the hand of one of his troopers, he shot his royal prisoners dead with his own hand.

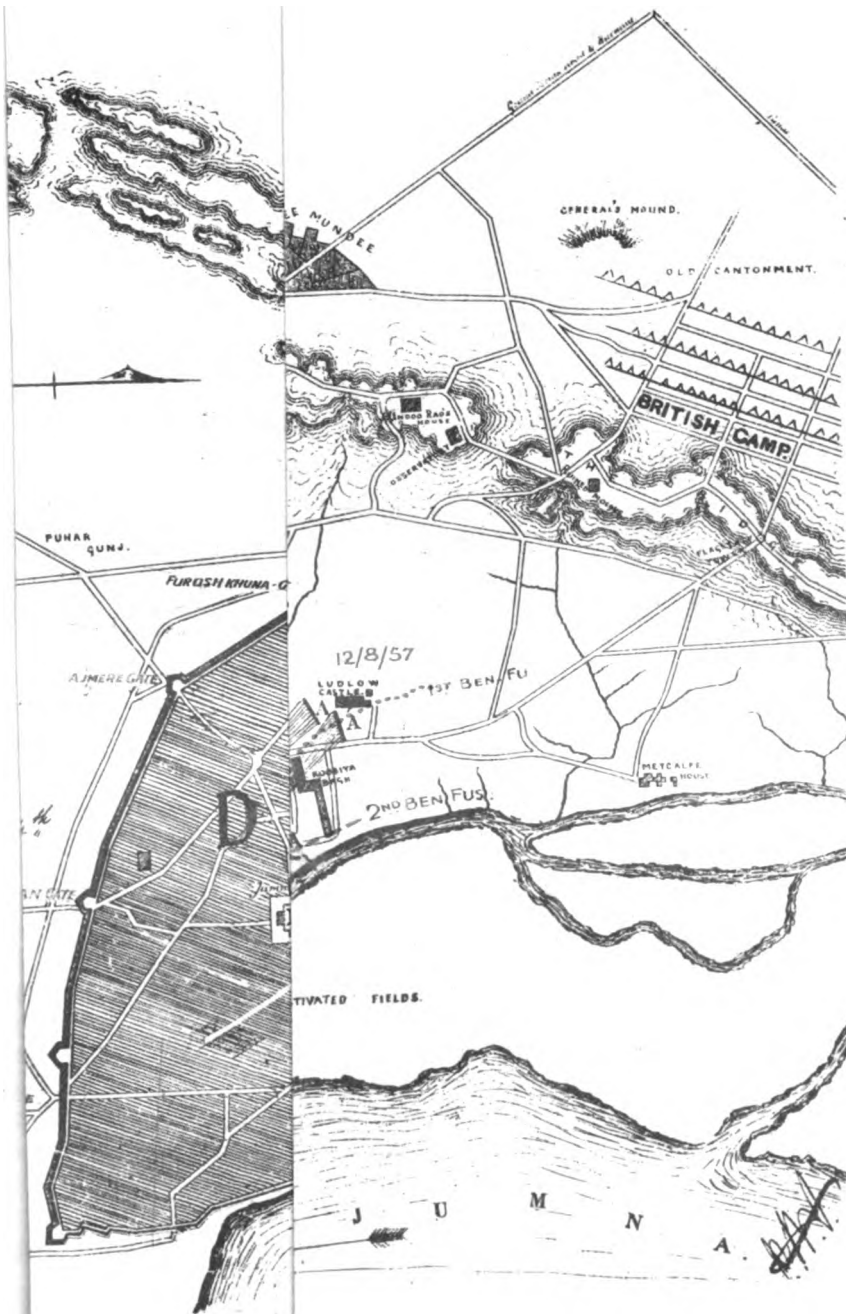
This act of Hodson's has been severely challenged. He was a man who had risen early into power, and there were those who were jealous of his rapid rise ; and, lastly, Hodson asserts it to have been his belief that, had he not deprived the Princes of their lives, the rebellious crowd which surged around would have rescued them, and the mutineers would thus still have their leaders to urge them on to further deeds of bloodshed and resistance. Rightly or wrongly, Hodson believed these Princes to have been the instigators of the sickening murders of those helpless wives and daughters who were within the walls of Delhi at the time of the outbreak, the revolting incidents of these massacres causing all men's blood to boil with horror and disgust. Hodson deemed it right that the bodies of the perpetrators of such foul crimes should fester on the road in front of Kotwali, where, a few months previous, they had gloated over scenes sickening to contemplate and too revolting to detail.

In so prominently referring to the incidents connected with the death of these Princes, it is just, in conclusion, to quote Hodson's own words : " I cannot help," he says, " being pleased at the warm congratulations I receive on all sides for my success in destroying the enemies of our race. I am too conscious of the rectitude of my own motives to care what the few may say, while my own conscience and the voice of the many pronounce me right."

The following is an extract from a letter dated September 18th from an officer of the Regiment before Delhi to a wounded comrade with the Depot at Dagshai, giving an interesting account of some of the disabled officers :—

" In our Regiment, McBarnett, attached (55th Native Infantry), killed. Our poor Major (Jacob), thigh broken, leg amputated, and died about ten o'clock at night on the 14th, and was buried yesterday evening. All who were in camp followed. It is a great loss to our Regiment, and is much felt by both officers and men : a better soldier never stepped. Poor Greville is hit again—the third time—through the shoulder : a bad wound, but the doctor thinks he will do well. He is much cut up at Jacob's death. Then Wemyss is hit in the calf of the leg, but it is only a flesh-wound. Speke is wounded in the body—ball not found : a bad wound, but the doctor is in hopes of his doing well (since dead). Owen wounded across the whole of the right side of the head,

Map No 19.



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the skull laid bare : and hit just over the left eye by another bullet. Lambert is slightly wounded in the leg by splinters. Poor Serjeant London was killed yesterday by a shell bursting in the midst of sixteen men, and it killed and wounded fourteen of the party. I believe there is only six file of your Company left. No. 10 Company had 6 killed and 15 wounded at Kissengunge. I really do not think we shall be more than 100 or 150 strong after we came out of Delhi. Our fellows saw lots of women and children in the streets when they went in, and I am happy to say not one of our men fired a shot at them. A great many of them ran up to us."

Immediately after the fall of Delhi the sick and wounded of the Regiment were sent to the Regimental Depot at Dagshai.

Colour-Serjeant Hardy, No. 4 Company, was promoted to the rank of Ensign for distinguished gallantry in the field.

The following is an extract from Colonel Innes's History of the Regiment :

" Before closing the narrative of the siege of Delhi a well-deserved tribute must be paid to Major G. O. Jacob, who died commanding the Regiment almost in the hour of victory : and whose kindly, generous, considerate nature was shown in death as in life. He and Greville occupied the same tent, in which they both lay wounded : but Jacob's fears lest his involuntary groans should disturb his wounded comrade and friend seemed to occupy all his thoughts. ' I know you are badly wounded and in pain,' said he, ' but pray pardon my groaning. I try not to disturb you, but I cannot help it.' Greville, utterly exhausted from fatigue and loss of blood, slept for half an hour, when, waking suddenly, he saw the sheet drawn over the face of his dead comrade, whose last words had been in perfect harmony with the whole tenour of his life, shown in his never-failing courtesy and consideration for others. George Ogle Jacob was brave and chivalrous in battle, respected by all, and most loved by those who knew him best.

" Prominent reference must be made to the services of Dr. J. P. Brougham—the Surgeon-Major of the Regiment—whose tender care and unremitting attentions conduced so much to alleviate the sufferings of the wounded. Dr. Brougham won the esteem, thanks, and goodwill of his brother officers and the rank and file of the Regiment, so many of whom had been under his care in the field hospital before Delhi."

The effective strength of the Regiment on September 11th was 427 ; and the return of killed, wounded, and missing of all ranks from May 30th to September 20th was :—Killed, 3 officers, 10 non-commissioned officers, 83 privates ; wounded, 11 officers, 23 non-commissioned officers, 186 privates. Total, 319.

The capture of Delhi was only a stepping-stone on the Government's way to complete recovery of control of India ; bands of rebel sepoys had spread over the country, perpetrating crimes of all sorts on the villagers unchecked, and on November 9th the Regiment was ordered to encamp outside the Cashmere Gate and proceed next morning in a westerly direction

against several strongholds occupied by the mutineers. Colonel Gerrard, who had first joined the Regiment in 1825, was appointed to command it immediately after the capture of Delhi.

On the morning of November 10th a force under Colonel Gerrard, consisting of the Regiment, two squadrons of the Carabiniers, a troop of Bengal Horse Artillery, the Sikh Guides Corps, etc., in all about 2,500 men, left Delhi, and on the 16th approached the village of Narnoul, after a difficult march over a very sandy soil; it took some ten hours to cover twelve miles. The enemy were seen approaching the British left front. The fight, as usual, commenced with an artillery duel, the Regiment being in the centre of the first line. The Carabiniers made a gallant charge and captured the enemy's guns, and continued their onward movement. The guns not having been spiked, were recaptured by the enemy and turned on the advancing British troops, killing Private Griffin and wounding Lieutenant Wallace and three men. The Regiment quickly retook the guns, and spiked them; the whole British force advanced, and the fight became general.

**Action at  
Narnoul.**

Colonel Gerrard, in front, was a conspicuous object, seated on his white charger. His Brigade-Major, Lieutenant G. N. Money, of the Regiment, whose horse had just been shot under him, was by the Colonel's side. At this moment two shots were fired, one passing close to Money's head. He, thinking the man who had fired belonged to one of the Sikh Regiments close by, called out, "Look out where you're firing; you nearly hit us." Almost immediately afterwards two more shots were fired from the same place, and Colonel Gerrard, turning round, said, "I've got it; I'm afraid I'm done for." Both his arms were hanging helpless by his side. Money quickly approached and helped him off his horse to a bank close by. The Colonel as he sat down looked at his side, and said, "It's gone clean through me. I'm afraid I'm done for." Money, mounting Colonel Gerrard's horse, went to fetch Dr. Brougham, who, as soon as he had examined the Colonel's wounds, said, "I'm afraid, Colonel, there is no hope." Two hours afterwards he died, whilst the battle was still raging.

In the meantime the Regiment, pushing forward, arrived before a small mud Fort held by the enemy, who were defending it with one brass gun. The Fusiliers charged, captured the gun at the point of the bayonet, and, driving the enemy before them on to the plains beyond, followed them to their camp, where another gun was captured. But, through some oversight, neither of these guns was spiked; and as the Regiment pushed farther to the front, the enemy returned and, reoccupying their position, opened a sharp grape fire on the left flank. Lieutenant Warner, who was sent back with two companies, retook the guns, which were this time spiked.

On the fall of Colonel Gerrard, Captain Caulfield (3rd Native Infantry, doing duty with the Regiment) assumed command of the Brigade, and Lieutenant Macfarlane—an officer of only six years' service—commanded the Regiment.





- 1.—Lieutenant (later Colonel) T. CADELL, V.C.
- 2.—Private J. MCGOVERN, V.C.
- 3.—Lieutenant (later Major), T. A. BUTLER, V.C.
- 4.—Lieutenant (later Colonel) F. D. M. BROWN, V.C.





It was now seen that a large body of the enemy had taken refuge in a serai, situated on the outskirts of the town. The Regiment soon forced its way inside, but the inmates with few exceptions escaped ; one, lagging behind, was shot by Lieutenant Frank Brown with his revolver, whilst three others took refuge in a small turret on the top of the wall.

Orders were given to the Serjeant-Major to send up some of the men to dispatch the sepoys in the turret, when Private McGovern, who was standing near, said, " I'll go, Sir, by myself," and, suiting the action to the word, ascended a little staircase at the main gate. The officer then told the Serjeant-Major to send at least half a dozen men, but he replied, " Oh, never mind, Sir ; he'll be no loss." McGovern, it seems, heard this remark, and determined to do the work himself ; so he mounted the narrow staircase and reached the top of the wall, where the three sepoys were waiting for him. They fired at once, but McGovern, jumping down a couple of the steps, escaped unhurt, and before the enemy could reload, mounting the steps, shot the man in front, and rushing on the other two bayoneted them without giving them time to recover. Private McGovern, who had already won the Victoria Cross for distinguished bravery on June 23rd, was a well-known character in the Regiment, his reckless, dare-devil acts being the talk of the Army ; and had he been as abstemious as he was brave, he would have been of sterling worth.

The serai was the last position vacated by the enemy, whose camp, equipage, cattle, and eight guns fell into our hands.

For conspicuous gallantry during the action at Narnoul, Lieutenant Francis David Millett Brown,\* of the Regiment, was awarded the Victoria Cross, " in having, at the imminent risk of his own life, rushed to the assistance of a wounded soldier of the 1st European Bengal Fusiliers, whom he carried off under a heavy fire from the enemy, whose cavalry were within forty or fifty yards of him at the time."

The objects for which the Brigade had been sent out having been attained, it now commenced its return march, reaching Delhi on November 29th. To quote Colonel Innes again : " But there was a sad gap in the ranks of the Fusiliers, who had left on the field of battle their gallant and generous-hearted Colonel. There was no complaint too trivial, no wrong too slight, to escape the attention and secure the relief of Colonel Gerrard ; known as the soldier's friend, he was ever ready to listen patiently to their injuries, and to redress their wrongs. The melancholy loss of their brave Colonel was deeply felt and generally deplored by officers and men alike."

On the return march from Narnoul, Lieutenant-Colonel Thomas Seaton, C.B.,† having been appointed to succeed Colonel Gerrard, assumed command of the Regiment and Brigade.

But there was no rest yet. More arduous duties had to be undertaken. The Regiment had returned to Delhi only a few hours when it received orders

\* See Appendix "N," p. 223.

† Afterwards Major-General Sir Thomas Seaton, K.C.B. See Appendix "O," p. 224.

to be in readiness to advance towards Lucknow, with a convoy of miscellaneous stores, cattle, etc., for the Commander-in-Chief's camp. This convoy would, on the line of march, cover over sixteen miles of road—a duty involving much exposure and considerable risk, with little renown.

But the importance attaching to the safe and speedy arrival of this convoy at the Commander-in-Chief's camp could hardly be overestimated, he being at this time so crippled for want of carriage, etc., that his movements were retarded and the efficiency of his force impaired.

The Brigade told off for this escort duty was placed under command of Colonel Seaton, and consisted of the Regiment, detachments of the Carabiniers and 9th Lancers, Hodson's Horse, and some regiments of Sikh Infantry.

The force marched from Delhi at 2 a.m. on December 9th, and a few days afterwards, on reaching Aligarh, the strength of the Regiment was increased by the addition of 100 men under Major Eld, from the 3rd European Regiment.

On December 11th the Brigade reached Gungehri, where there was a small British force of Baluchis and some European artillery, beyond whose camp the Regiment pitched their tents. The morning meal was being prepared, when suddenly the assembly was sounded. The British camp was surrounded by cultivated fields, the high growth of the crops obstructing the view. The Brigade was quickly formed in line, the Regiment being in the centre, flanked by the Sikh Infantry, and the Carabiniers and Lancers on the extreme right, Hodson's Horse on the left.

**Action at  
Gungehri.**

The enemy was seen in considerable strength moving on the left, apparently with the intention of taking the Brigade in flank; Seaton therefore changed position, and the Horse Artillery opened fire, which was only feebly answered.

The enemy at once retired, his guns merely covering his retreat. Evidently the attack had been intended for the Baluch Camp, the enemy having been in ignorance of the arrival of the Brigade. The brunt of the skirmish fell on the cavalry, who captured the enemy's guns, the gunners being sabred at their posts. This success was not gained without heavy loss, 3 Carabinier officers and 6 men being killed and 15 wounded. Hodson, who had been watching his opportunity, now dashed forward with his cavalry, his course being marked for many miles by killed and wounded, amongst whom were 23 of his own troopers. The captured guns, one 9- and two 6-pounders, were brought into the camp; and it was nearly 3 p.m. before the troops resumed their breakfast. The next day the Brigade arrived in camp at Khass-Gunge.

On December 17th, whilst on the line of march, Colonel Seaton received trustworthy information that the enemy were encamped near the road about two miles from Puttiale. Concentrating his troops, he rapidly prepared for action; placing, as previously, the Regiment in the centre, some of the Horse Artillery, British Cavalry, and Hodson's Horse on the right, some Horse Artillery and Sikh Infantry on the left; the heavy guns bringing up the rear.

**Skirmish at  
Puttiale.**

The enemy were drawn up in front of the town, and appeared determined to make a vigorous stand, and quickly replied to the fire of the Horse Artillery. It was hazy weather, and, as the grass and crops stood some six feet high, it was difficult to see what was going on in front. Colonel Seaton and his Staff, escorted by a troop of Hodson's Horse, saw the enemy limbering up their guns, evidently intent on beating a hasty retreat. Not an instant was to be lost. Seaton, followed by his Staff and escort only, dashed forward at the guns, and, sabring the gunners—who were completely taken aback by the suddenness of the movement—captured the guns, with the loss of only one man. Hodson and his men kept to the right of the road on which the enemy were retreating, until, reaching the open country, they dashed amongst the mutineers, punishing them severely and pursuing the flying, disorganized masses for several miles, killing no less, it is said, than 600 men.

The infantry, in the meantime, had scoured the gardens and town, killing a vast number of the mutineers found hiding.

Seaton's bold dash had so hastened the retreat of the enemy that the British loss was insignificant; whilst their camp, cattle and thirteen guns with tumbrils and ammunition were captured.

On December 21st the Brigade approached the old military cantonment of Mynpoorie, adjoining which was the large and important town of that name. Here resided a Rajah named Tej Sing, who was in open rebellion, and announced his determination to make a desperate resistance; but the simple manœuvre of taking his troops in flank, in place of advancing along the main road, which he had protected by earthworks and guns, so disorganized the enemy that they fled, after having fired only a few badly-directed shots.

Whilst at Mynpoorie information was received that the Commander-in-Chief's camp was only distant about thirty miles. Hodson, "eager as usual to be foremost," volunteered to open communication. Permission having been granted, he started off with 100 of his men, but had only proceeded one march (to Bewar), when he learnt that he had been misinformed as to the position of the Chief's camp. He found that to execute his design he would have to cover some twenty additional miles. Many of the horses having shown signs of fatigue, twenty of the most lively were picked out, and, leaving eighty of his men at a place called Chibramow, Hodson pushed forward with his second-in-command, MacDowell. In a few hours he succeeded in opening communication with the Commander-in-Chief, then encamped at Miran-Rederai, and having delivered his reports and received his orders, started to return. Hodson had not proceeded far when he learnt that the enemy, in number about 2,000 men, lay in wait to intercept him. Leaving the main road, he passed with his men within earshot of the ambushade, and reached the camp in safety, having ridden fifty-five miles in ten hours without changing horses. Great was the joy of all in camp, for intelligence, apparently reliable, had been received that Hodson and his party had been waylaid and destroyed.

Seaton's Column marched into Bewar on the last day of December, where it remained until January 4th, when it was joined by Brigadier Walpole's Brigade, this latter officer now assuming command of the united forces.

By this junction communication was completely opened from Calcutta to Lahore.

On January 4th, 1858, Walpole's force marched into Fatehgarh, where the Headquarters of the Army, under Sir Colin Campbell, were encamped. Colonel Seaton was appointed to command the Fatehgarh Brigade, and districts to the south and west—a task requiring decision and judgment, he having but a weak force to perform duties full of danger and difficulty.



*The Victoria Cross*

*Instituted 29<sup>th</sup> June 1856*

## CHAPTER VIII

**SIEGE AND CAPTURE OF LUCKNOW—AMALGAMATION OF THE COMPANY'S ARMY WITH THE REST OF THE BRITISH ARMY—THE REGIMENT BECOMES HER MAJESTY'S "101ST REGIMENT (ROYAL BENGAL FUSILIERS)".**

*Reference Map No. 20. Page 176.*

It is now necessary to note briefly events which had occurred since the outbreak of the Mutiny at Lucknow, when on May 3rd, 1857, Sir Henry Lawrence had taken energetic measures to punish the 7th Oude Irregulars for their disaffection. Steps were taken to concentrate the European inhabitants and soldiers at the Residency and place it in a state of defence.

On June 25th the mutineers took up a position at Chinhat, six miles from the Residency, and an attack ordered by Lawrence ended in a defeat and heavy loss, with the result that the enemy occupied Lucknow in great force, and only 927 Europeans and 765 loyal native troops were concentrated within the inner defences of the Residency.

On July 4th Sir Henry Lawrence was killed by a shell, and was succeeded by Major Banks, who was shot on July 22nd. The garrison, amongst whom were 68 ladies and 66 children, in spite of suffering terrible hardships and acute privations, still defended itself with unflinching bravery.

On September 25th, troops under Outram and Havelock succeeded in cutting their way through the narrow streets of the city and entered the Residency, thus reinforcing but not relieving the garrison.

Amongst the troops under Havelock, who so valiantly fought their way into the Residency, were four officers of the "Invalid Battalion"; of these four, three—Captains W. R. Haslewood, R. W. H. Fanshawe and P. R. Innes—had been invalided from the Regiment. They were all promoted, at the conclusion of the Mutiny, to Majorities, for "valued services rendered."

Lieutenant Montagu Hall, of the Regiment, served as Assistant Engineer with General Havelock's force, and rendered valuable service at the actions at Munglewar, September 23rd-25th, and the advance into the Residency.

At length Sir Colin Campbell arrived, and on the night of November 22nd succeeded in creating such an alarm amongst the enemy by making a feint attack on the Kaiser Bagh that the beleaguered garrison, including 60 ladies and 43 children, escaped; they made their way through tortuous passages and under ruined buildings in the dead of night, and retreated unperceived by the enemy, who continued to pour their accustomed fire on the deserted posts until daybreak, when they discovered what had happened. Havelock only survived the relief a few hours; he had been gradually sinking for weeks, and at the first halting-ground he passed away.

Sir Colin left 4,000 men, under General Outram, at the Alam Bagh to remind the enemy that, though the beleaguered garrison had escaped, Lucknow was still ours. He, with 3,000 men to guard his convoy of women, children and wounded, hastened to secure the safety of Cawnpore, still held by General Windham against the Gwalior Contingent. On the evening of November 29th he crossed the Ganges, and after a series of glorious attacks forced the enemy from all his positions, capturing his camp, guns, cattle, and a large proportion of the army. At the head of his cavalry he pursued the defeated foe through Bithoor, where he razed the palace of the infamous Nana to the ground, and, still pressing on, captured the fortress of Fatehgarh on January 3rd, and was there joined on the 4th by Brigadier-General Walpole's force, with which, it will be remembered, was the Regiment.

Captain Ellis Cunliffe and Lieutenant H. T. Parsons, who had lately arrived from England, finding communication closed, were unable to join the Regiment, and were attached to Her Majesty's 64th Regiment, and were engaged with that Regiment against the Gwalior Contingent. Lieutenant Parsons was severely wounded, and invalided to Europe.\*

We must now follow the movements of the Regiment from Fatehgarh, where we left them on January 4th.

On January 27th the Regiment commenced its march to Cawnpore, reaching there on February 3rd.

Whilst the Regiment was at Cawnpore, Captain F. O. Salusbury joined, with a large draft of recruits, who were the first armed with the Enfield rifle. These recruits had, by the energy of their commander, been so thoroughly disciplined and drilled in the use of the new weapon that, on arrival at Allahabad, the detachment was entrusted with the charge of a huge convoy, which it escorted to Cawnpore; and on joining the Headquarters of the Regiment, the recruits were handed over efficient soldiers, and at once allowed to take their place in the ranks—an advantage, under the circumstances, hardly to be overestimated.

Lieutenants Maxwell and Magniac also joined from leave of absence; and Lieutenant Hall, who had been employed on the Staff with General Havelock's force, with which he entered the Residency, had arrived at Cawnpore with Sir Colin's Relief Army, and returned to regimental duty.

The Regiment was now brought up to a strength of 30 officers and 546 rank and file.

The Commander-in-Chief's Army was at this time being organized for the final assault on Lucknow; the Regiment, together with Her Majesty's 23rd Royal Welch Fusiliers and 79th Highlanders, forming the 5th or Brigadier Douglas's Brigade, which, with the 6th Brigade, formed the 3rd Infantry Division under Brigadier-General R. Walpole.

\* It was on this occasion that Lieutenant F. S. Roberts (afterwards Field-Marshal Earl Roberts of Kandahar, Pretoria, and Waterford, V.C., K.G., etc.), who was born in the Regiment, whilst his father commanded it, gained his Victoria Cross for distinguished bravery.

On the morning of February 6th the Brigade commenced its march towards Lucknow, crossing the Ganges and reaching Oonao the same afternoon, remaining at Oonao until the 11th, when the march was resumed.

On the 23rd the British Camp, which had been left by Sir Colin Campbell at the Alam Bagh (Captain Trevor Wheeler joined the Regiment on its arrival at the Alam Bagh), under General Outram, was reached; and on the 25th, at 7 a.m., a desperate attack by upwards of 20,000 men was made on the British position; but Outram's force had been augmented by Walpole's Brigade, as well as by the 7th Hussars, Hodson's Horse, and some troops of Bengal Horse Artillery.

**Siege of  
Lucknow.**

The battle was hotly contested, and at 10 a.m. the enemy was threatening the British left, while a main attack was being made along the whole front and right.

Outram now saw his opportunity, and grasped it. Dashing at the enemy's right with a strong force of cavalry, he at the same time attacked vigorously in front; whilst another force of cavalry was sent round to attack in rear, and the Horse Artillery, under Olpherts and Remmington, attacked in flank, creating much confusion. Just then Outram completed his plan by flinging the Queen's Bays and Hodson's Horse forward and seizing two of the enemy's guns. This movement caused them to reel back, but not in absolute flight; they still received the repeated charges of the British with a bold front, and, notwithstanding that they had been forced to give ground, again brought up masses of infantry to the attack.

All night the enemy endeavoured to seize the left of the position, but towards the morning of the 26th they realized that their attempts were futile, and drew off towards the city.

General Outram had been ordered, on November 24th, 1857, to retain his hold on the Alam Bagh. For upwards of three months he had done so in the face of many difficulties, his force of under 4,000 men being opposed by an army consisting mostly of trained soldiers, and estimated at 120,000. The trust which the Commander-in-Chief had reposed in Outram had been nobly fulfilled; and on March 1st, 1858, Sir Colin Campbell arrived at the Alam Bagh and assumed command of the army before Lucknow. This now numbered 20,000 men—the choicest of the British service—and 120 guns. With this force not only was the capture of the city a foregone conclusion, but any lavish expenditure of life would be unnecessary.

The Alam Bagh, or "Garden of the World," was the point from which Havelock and Outram had attempted the relief of the Residency on September 25th; and it was from this place, also, that Sir Colin Campbell had effected the relief on November 22nd following. As the previous advances had been made from the direction of the Alam Bagh, the enemy evidently anticipated that the capture of the city would on this occasion be attempted from the same base, and they had planned their defences accordingly. The canal on the south face of the city was defended by a triple line of works of enormous



strength, erected, at a great expenditure of labour, by trained engineers ; but the river face, east and north, was comparatively undefended, and as the left or north bank was higher than that on the city side, the guns could be worked with great effect.

Sir Colin was fully alive to the want of judgment displayed by the enemy, and formed his plan of attack so as to profit by it. He ordered a strong force, under Outram, to gain possession of the left bank of the River Gumti, east and north.

He fixed his headquarters at the " Dilkusha," or the " Hearts Delight," where he would remain with the main army until assured of the success of Outram's movement, which was to be made known by raising colours on the roof of a tall building called the Chaka Kothi, or " Yellow House," easily visible from the top of the Dilkusha, and the occupation of which would be a sure indication that Outram's force had succeeded in taking the enemy in reverse.

The British Army was now of sufficient strength to warrant Sir Colin Campbell in dividing it into separate corps, and he was thus able to enfilade the enemy's batteries on the canal, and also effect his entry into the city without any great sacrifice of life.

The plan prepared by Napier, the chief engineer, was to seize the Dilkusha Palace, and then pass a force round the city to attack from the north and establishing batteries enfilading the rebel lines. A methodical advance, covered by siege batteries, was then to be made and the enemy driven out to the westwards, and pursued by the large cavalry force under Sir Colin. The right attack was entrusted to Sir James Outram, who had the 1st Cavalry Brigade and the 3rd Infantry Division, Walpole's, consisting of the 5th Brigade—the Regiment, 23rd Regiment and 79th Regiment ; 6th Brigade—2nd and 3rd Rifle Brigade and 4th Sikh Punjabis.

The movements of the troops commenced on March 2nd at 2 a.m., when the Regiment struck camp, and, with a heavy battery of siege-guns under their escort, proceeded to occupy a position somewhat in rear of the Dilkusha.

But next day orders were received to leave the camp standing and proceed to the protection of one of the heavy batteries close to the Mahummed Bagh, a garden to the left of the Dilkusha, in the centre of which was a large masonry house surrounded by well-constructed walls. The Mahummed Bagh was within 700 yards of the enemy's batteries, from which a heavy fire was being maintained ; but no damage was done, as the Regiment was well under cover.

The heavy guns, which had opened fire from the Dilkusha and Mahummed Bagh batteries soon succeeded in silencing those of the enemy ; and on the morning of the 5th the Regiment returned to the Dilkusha camp to find that the whole of the 3rd, 5th and 6th Brigades had pitched their camp close at hand. It now became known that the 5th Brigade was to proceed with the Division under General Sir J. Outram, to carry out the first part of Sir Colin Campbell's operations.



- 1.—Major SIR LOUIS CAVAGNARI, K.C.B., C.S.I. British Resident, Kabul, 1879.
- 2.—Lieutenant (later Colonel) W. S. JERVIS, who planted the Regimental Colour on Chukkur Kothi, Lucknow, 1858.
- 3.—Major-General J. WELCHMAN, C.B. Commanded 1st Bengal Fusiliers at Budlee-ke-Serai, 1857.
- 4.—Colonel P. R. INNES, the Regiment's First Historian.
- 5.—Colonel K. J. W. COGHILL, C.B., Adj. 2nd Bengal Fusiliers, Delhi, 1857.



The morning of March 6th broke bright and clear, and the Division struck camp early and crossed the River Gumti by one of the bridges constructed by the engineers, and after a trying march, owing to the heavy going, scarcity of water, and heat of the sun, arrived at Chinhat, where Sir Henry Lawrence had met with his reverse.

Early on the morning of the 7th the enemy approached, evidently trying to observe the movements and strength of the Division, but eventually retired on the advance of the British troops. Captain Salusbury, with two companies of the Regiment, occupied some villages on the front. Captain Hume joined the Regiment this day, and in virtue of seniority assumed command.

The 8th was a day of rest, but early on the morning of the 9th the Regiment moved forward as escort to the heavy siege-guns which were to be moved to within 600 yards of the enemy's nearest works. The elephants being harnessed to the guns, the convoy moved slowly and silently along, aided by a clear moon.

Having advanced about a mile, the forward picquets were reached, and here the main body halted, whilst two companies of the Regiment proceeded with the guns up to the batteries. It had been anticipated that some resistance would be offered; but notwithstanding that the elephants, in spite of the efforts of their mahouts, occasionally trumpeted, and the noise consequent on getting the guns into position was considerable, the enemy did not interfere, and at daybreak the guns announced their presence by raking the enemy's position in front. Leaving a small force to protect the guns, the Regiment now advanced.

In the meantime, the skirmishers having cleared the ground in front, the Regiment and two companies of the 79th pushed forward. Advancing steadily across a small stream, they moved up a slight incline, and, driving the enemy back, captured the Chaka Kothi.

Lieutenant Money led the advanced party, consisting of two companies, and, believing that the house had been cleared of the enemy, halted outside; but soon some shots from the basement of the house wounded some of the men.

It was discovered that the large arched basement was held by a few determined rebels, who intended to sell their lives as dearly as possible. It was no easy matter to dislodge these men, for it was quite dark inside, and the basement was intersected by numerous walls. Three efforts were made to carry the Colours over the bullet-swept courtyard. Captain E. St George and Lieutenant Magniac were in turn wounded in their effort to carry out this duty on which the whole concerted attack of the army depended. Nothing daunted, Lieutenant Jervis, who was a noted sprinter, now took the Colour and dashed across the courtyard. He also had a narrow escape; a bullet missed his spine by half an inch. On reaching the roof he waved the Colour, and receiving an answer reported the fact and was ordered down.

An attempt was now made to burn the rebels out, some of the thatch of the cavalry lines close at hand being placed to windward and fired, but without effect. Holes were also made in the floor above and live shells dropped into the passages below, which, exploding, bolted the nine occupants, who dashed out and ran towards the river. All fell save one, who, plunging into the stream, swam for his life, and would have escaped had not Serjeant Wilson, who was bringing in some wounded men, mortally wounded him just as he reached a shallow in the centre of the stream.

The British were now complete masters of the Chaka Kothi and the ground some distance in advance, and the signal of success had been shown aloft to the Commander-in-Chief. The loss had been small, the enemy having been taken in reverse ; and whilst the companies under Money had been employed as just described, the rest of the troops had cleared the jungle and villages covering the position to the north and west. So confident was Outram now of success that he would have pushed farther on, but orders were received from the Chief telling him to hold his ground, but do nothing more. Casualties—killed, 4 non-commissioned officers and men ; wounded, Captain E. St. George, eight non-commissioned officers and men.

Sir James Outram, in his despatch, says : " The left Column of attack, composed of the 1st Bengal Fusiliers supported by two companies of the 79th Highlanders, carried the Chukr Kothee (or Yellow House), the key of the rebel position, in gallant style, and thereby turned the strong line of entrenchments which had been constructed by the enemy on the right bank of the Goomtee."

Outram now gave orders for the rest of the Regiment to move back along the river bank with some heavy guns ; and, having reached the junction of the Gumti and the canal near Jagrauli, to enfilade the enemy's batteries, which formed their first defence on the city side of the canal. The troops were commanded by Major Nicholson, of the Engineers, the infantry being under Captain F. O. Salusbury.

Arrived at their destination, the enemy's works were seen to be of enormous strength ; but no reply was made to the enfilading fire, which raked through and through their batteries in flank. Nicholson now formed the opinion that these batteries must be deserted ; and Salusbury, anxious to test the accuracy of the surmise, offered to get some boats and cross the river with his men : Nicholson refused to sanction the proposal, as he did not wish his guns to be left without support.

Lieutenant Thomas Adair Butler, one of Salusbury's subalterns, volunteered to ascertain whether the fortifications on the opposite bank of the river were occupied by the enemy or not. It should be borne in mind that, though it appeared that no great numbers were inside the fortifications, the chances were that there would be many of the mutineers in or about the place.

Nicholson, whilst warning Butler of the risks he ran, gave his consent ; and Butler, throwing off his coat, plunged into the Gumti River, which was

here some sixty yards across, with a strong current running. Arrived on the other bank, Butler looked round ; the inside of the enemy's works was still as silent as the grave, but, even so, it needed some nerve to storm a fort alone. Passing to the rear, Butler gained an entrance unopposed, and, mounting on the parapet, signalled with a white flag, which he had improvised, to a staff officer of Adrian Hope's Brigade. This officer came near, but sent no aid, and so Butler was left unarmed, cold and wet, to garrison the Fort alone. Gesticulating for help, Butler was seen by an officer of Her Majesty's 42nd Regiment on the plain in front of the Martinière, and, rapidly advancing with his men, he occupied the Fort. The Sikhs soon followed, and Butler swam back, having performed an act of cool and dauntless courage which won for him the Victoria Cross.\*

On the evening of March 9th the companies under Salusbury rejoined the Headquarters of the Regiment, and bivouacked near the Chaka Kothi.

The success of Outram's Division was complete. He had possessed himself of the left bank of the river, occupied the Badshah Bagh and its surroundings, silenced the enemy's batteries on the right bank of the river, and finally enfiladed those on the south face of the city, forcing them to vacate their defences.

It was now time for Sir Colin Campbell to act.

On the morning of the 9th the Commander-in-Chief, seeing through his telescope the Colours of the Regiment floating on the top of the Chaka Kothi, sent Brigadier Adrian Hope with his Brigade to seize the Martinière. This was quickly done, the enemy having withdrawn their guns across the canal. Forming part of this Brigade were the 42nd Highlanders, who had relieved Lieutenant Butler of his charge ; they then swept down the line of works, penetrating as far as Banks's house.

Next day, the 10th, there was some skirmishing, but the Regiment was not engaged. The camp changed ground, but was still in rear of the Chaka Kothi, which was not occupied, as the Regiment bivouacked out until the morning of the 11th, when it took possession without opposition of a mosque on the Cantonment Road which commanded the Iron Bridge, nearly opposite to the Machi Bawan. But, during this day, great progress had been made by the main army under Sir Colin. Banks's House and the Begum Koti were occupied before nightfall, and the Kaiser Bagh or King's Palace was almost within grasp. It was at the storm of the Begum Koti that Major W. S. Hodson,† of the Regiment, and Commandant of "Hodson's Horse," was mortally wounded.

Major Hodson, who had ordered his regiment to parade, preparatory to crossing the canal, rode to the front to select a fitting spot ; but, seeing

\* See Appendix "P," p. 224.

† Capt. Hodson had received his Brevet Majority for distinguished services before Delhi.

Brigadier Napier advancing on the Begum Koti, Hodson joined his force ; and, after passing through the breach, he pressed forward to see what was going on inside, when a shot fired by a mutineer from a window entered his side, giving him his death wound.

Hodson's short career was one of marvellous brilliancy ; and, had he not succumbed to his wound, it is more than likely that he would have lived to be one of England's greatest soldiers.

From March 11th to 14th, although the main army, under Sir Colin Campbell, was making steady progress, pushing its way into the very heart of Lucknow, Outram's Division was comparatively inactive, and, burning with anxiety to take a leading part in the fray, he sent to the Commander-in-Chief to ask to be allowed to cross the Iron Bridge ; but Sir Colin's policy was irrevocable ; the capture of Lucknow was to be accomplished without needless loss of life.

Awaiting the chief's reply, Outram drew up his troops opposite the bridge, the *tete-du-pont* of which was occupied in great force by the enemy with some guns which they were serving well, and they prepared to dispute the passage across ; these guns occasionally fired at the troops, doing some injury, one of the bullets passing through Lieutenant Ellis's coat, and slightly wounding Captain Salusbury in the left leg.

An aide-de-camp now arrived with Sir Colin's reply, which only gave permission to Outram to cross the Iron Bridge, if he could do so without the loss of a single man. This condition rendered the assault impossible, without disobeying orders ; so Outram unwillingly withdrew his troops.

On the 14th the main army penetrated to the China Bazaar ; the Moti Mahal, the Chattar Munzil Palace, the Tara Koti, all fell, and before the day was over the Kaiser Bagh was captured. Its cellars, containing embroidered cloths of priceless worth, gold and silver ornaments, jewels of every description, diamond tiaras, and gorgeous royal standards, banners, china, jade, and every kind of valuable, all fell into the hands of the troops. The captors revelled in the spoil, heaping on a bonfire in the centre court the rich brocades and gold embroidered shawls, in order that they might collect the melted gold.

By this time the mutineers were streaming out from the captured city, and Outram's Division returned to camp behind the Chaka Kothi, where, for the first time for five days and nights, the men were allowed to take off their accoutrements.

On March 16th the Brigadier received permission to cross the river near Sikandar Bagh over a hastily-constructed pontoon bridge  
**Capture of the Residency,** Marching past where the 32nd Regiment's mess-house had stood, the Kaiser Bagh was reached, and an attack was ordered to be made on the Residency, which still contained some of the rebel troops. A charge in the face of a few wild shots, and the Residency was captured ; the defence formed a feeble contrast to the occasion on which Outram and Havelock with their brave Residency force held the position for months in

the very teeth of countless multitudes. The Regiment, with the Regiment of Ferozepore, moved to the Iron Bridge, and, still pushing on, seized the ruined fortress of Muchee Bawan and the Imambara, from which Captain Salusbury, with his company, pushed on up to the Roomidurwaza Gate overlooking the Husanee Bagh, capturing three guns upon the river bank and one at the gateway of the garden.

Lieutenant Charles Macgregor,\* attached to the Regiment, was, as usual, to the front, and greatly distinguished himself by killing in single combat "one of the bravest of the rebels." Brougham says, "Mac returned looking very warm and exceedingly wild and happy."

The detached duties upon which the Regiment was now employed were not unattended with danger, for Lieutenants Maxwell and Ellis nearly came to an untimely end. One of the men misunderstood his orders and set fire to a powder factory, which exploded, seriously injuring four men; happily, there was no loss of life. Lieutenant Ellis, who was near at hand at the time of the explosion, escaped minus his eyebrows, whiskers and moustache, and was fortunate not to lose his sight.

By March 21st Lucknow had been completely cleared of the mutineers, and a few days after the townspeople commenced to return to their homes.

Capture of  
Lucknow.

The effective strength of the Regiment on March 2nd was—20 officers, 546 other ranks.

During the operations against Lucknow the following officers of the Regiment were wounded—Captain Salusbury (slightly), Captain St. George (dangerously), Lieutenant Ellis (slightly); whilst Major W. S. Hodson was killed, 8 rank and file being killed and 21 wounded. The total loss of the British Army was 140 killed and 595 wounded. The capture of this great city held by 120,000 men was a wonderful feat of arms, due to careful preparation, patience, and boldness when the occasion presented itself.

The following received "honourable mention" in Brigadier-General Walpole's despatch:—Captain Hume, "commanded his regiment and distinguished himself during the operations subsequent to the 9th, and including the action of the 9th and 11th"; Captain Cunliffe, "commanded his regiment and distinguished himself in the operations prior to the 9th, when Captain Hume, his senior officer, superceded him (including the attack on the camp on the 7th)."

The following interesting extracts are taken from "Reminiscences of the Mutiny," by Colonel W. S. Jervis, published in the *Leamington Spa Courier*, March, 1912. The day is March 6th, 1858, the Regiment, with the rest of the 5th Brigade and 3rd Infantry Division, has crossed the Gumti to take the enemy in reverse.

\* Afterwards Major-General Sir Charles Macgregor, K.C.B., C.S.I., C.I.E., Quartermaster-General of the Army in Bengal.



"A most tedious march it was. I was carrying the Queen's colour; by the same token, I carried it 1,400 miles, unfurled. They were very large colours then, and as the wind was strong, it was fatiguing. We did not get to our camping ground till 4 p.m., having been sixteen hours under arms. We got some food about eight. I delivered the colours to the Quarter Guard, and such was my state of exhaustion that I sank to the ground, and fell into a profound slumber. The men of the guard got some dry grass, lifted me up, and put it under me. I slept for four hours.

"The following morning the enemy artillery opened at long range on our camp. Just as I had commenced my breakfast a round shot came through the mess tent. The bugle sounded the "Fall in"; all was hurry and bustle, men and officers running to their tents for their arms. I was quietly going on with my breakfast, knowing the colours did not take up their place in column till the regiment was formed up, when the Commanding Officer came into the tent, and ordered me angrily to turn out at once. So I drank my cup of coffee, picked up my four pieces of toast and crammed them into my haversack, and, as I thought, was on parade long before I was wanted to march into position.

"Several men were wounded, so we formed line and doubled half a mile in support of our guns. Our determined advance frightened the rebels, who fled and tried to cross the river. The guns unlimbered and opened fire, and so did we. The effect was frightful. The rebel loss was crushing.

"After the last who escaped had disappeared, we returned to the 'Yellow Bungalow,' a large house close to the race-course, from which we thought we had driven the rebels. The Regiment was drawn up in quarter column, when I was ordered by Lieutenant Fred Roberts (whose father once commanded my regiment, and he was born in it) to run up to the top of the Yellow Bungalow and wave the colour, to show Sir Colin Campbell how far we had got. Captain St. George and Lieutenant Magniac were just behind me when from a dark room three or four shots were fired. Captain St. George was shot in the body, Lieutenant Magniac had a narrow escape, and I felt a kind of scratch, but took no notice of it.

"After I had received an answer to my signal, I reported the fact and was ordered down. I joined the colour party, when Colour-Serjeant Hardy (who got his commission for gallantry) said, 'Sir, your coat is cut three inches at the back, and you are bleeding.' 'I don't feel any inconvenience.' When the parade was dismissed I went to the hospital hut, and the steward put a strip of diachylon plaster on. It was nothing, but a near squeak.

"On March 8th we constructed two batteries and pounded the enemy's works, 600 yards distant. We were then let loose and drove the rebels through the old cavalry lines to the Badshah Bagh, when again I had to hoist the colours on a high place to show the Commander-in-Chief what progress we had made. We then lined the banks of the river, our guns, with their flanking fire, helping Sir Colin enormously in his attack on the Martinière.

"The 10th was a quiet day for the division, which had carried out its orders better and quicker than was anticipated.

"On the 11th the Regiment, and 2nd and 3rd Battalions Rifle Brigade, captured a mosque; the Rifles covered the advance, and well they did it. The Begum Kothi and several strong positions were taken from the rebels; our men were not to be denied. These successes were in a great measure due to the enfilading fire and progress of Outram's Division.

"It was at this time that the army had to deplore the loss of one of its bravest men. The gallant Hodson, of my regiment, fell, after the capture of the Begum Kothi. He was busy driving the lurking enemy from the vicinity, when he received his death wound. The Highlanders close at hand bayoneted the group from which the shot had been fired. Hodson was a great partisan leader; he had a horse regiment 1,600 strong under his command. The non-commissioned officers and men worshipped him, and would not allow anyone to approach his quarters for fear that the noise might disturb him. He died, and these splendid Sikh soldiers were inconsolable. Ah, he was a gallant soul! No matter how things were going against us, Hodson was always cheerful. He stood five feet ten inches, admirably formed for a cavalry soldier, hard as nails, and such a handsome man. His drooping moustache and cheerful countenance will long be remembered by his comrades.

"The end was coming. On the 16th the Brigade (Douglas's), consisting of the Regiment, 23rd Fusiliers, and 79th Highlanders, moved to the Kaiser Bagh, where Sir Colin met us and gave his final orders, which were to take the Residency, push on another mile and storm the Machi Bawan and the Imambara. Such was the enthusiasm aroused by the noble deeds of our comrades that when Outram ordered the attack, in half an hour we drove the rebels, dejected and with heavy loss, out of the entire position. Being with No. 1 Company, I was first in the place. We pushed on to the Machi Bawan, but had to wait till some heavy guns of the Naval Brigade had battered the place a bit."

During April a flying column under Major-General Sir Hope Grant was organized to restore confidence in the Fyzabad district, and rid the country of some powerful bands of mutineers who were looting the villages; the Regiment served with this force.

On April 13th an engagement took place against some thousands of the rebels near Baree, when an attempt was made to seize the baggage, which straggled over three miles. The Regiment was ordered to assist the rear-guard in repelling the attacks of the enemy's cavalry, who were charging down on the baggage when they encountered Nos. 5 and 6 Companies of the Regiment under Captain Cunliffe. These companies allowed the cavalry to come within thirty yards, and then gave them such a warm reception that the remainder fled.

During September the Regiment was employed in driving a large force of mutineers from an island in the River Gogra, not far from Durriabad, where the

Regiment was quartered. The expedition was completely successful, the enemy being defeated with heavy loss. In this engagement the Regiment had one man killed and four wounded. Again on October 6th the mutineers were attacked, and this time dispersed with the loss of many men and one gun. On October 30th Captain Trevor Wheler,\* of the Regiment, was given command of a force of about 300 picked men of the Regiment, under Lieutenant W. Warner, a troop of Hodson's Horse under Lieutenant F. Brown of the Regiment, 400 Sikhs, and a battery of horse artillery.

Wheler's force left Durriabad at 4 a.m. on October 30th, and, having marched rapidly for about fifteen miles, came on the track of a large body of the mutineers near Nawab-Gunge. The following is Colonel Jervis's account of this skirmish: "The rebels had no idea we were so near them, and had no outposts. We formed line, marched through a big tope of mango-trees, and came upon their encampment. By heavens! there was a ruction when we opened fire. The sepoy's awoke and ran in every direction; we advanced, slaying as we went. The cavalry and horse artillery galloped to cut off the enemy's retreat, and we captured everything that they possessed—seven guns, elephants, camels, etc., etc.

"Then we made for the town. But they had the 'funks' on board, and made no resistance. After a short stay we marched back to their camp and burned everything that was no use. We brought back the guns and animals, and were only absent from Durriabad 46 hours. It was allowed on all hands that this was one of the smartest things done in the Mutiny."

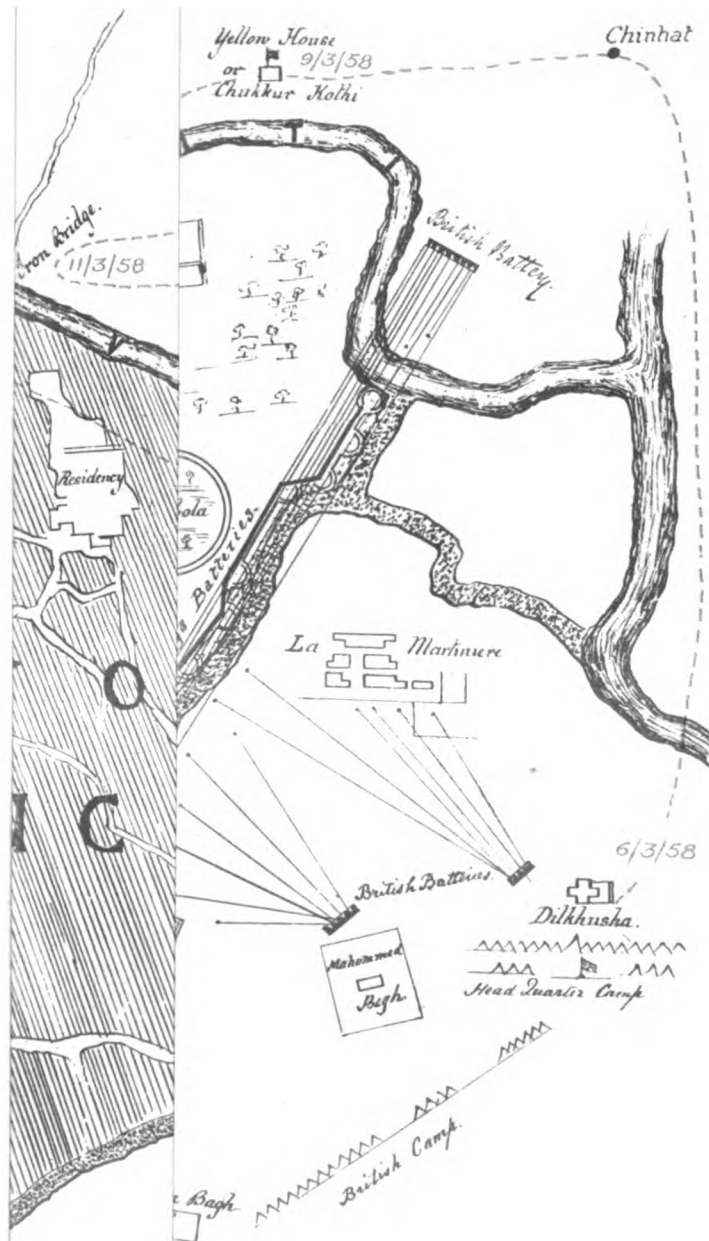
This skirmish is specially worthy of notice on two accounts. Firstly, it was the last occasion on which the Regiment, under its time-honoured designation of 1st European Bengal Fusiliers, was engaged against the enemy. Secondly, it was the first engagement in which Ensign L. Cavagnari—lately gazetted to the Regiment—had been engaged; his Commanding Officer specially recorded "with satisfaction the cool courage" of this promising young officer, who, as Major Sir Pierre Louis Napoleon Cavagnari, K.C.B.,† nobly sustained at Cabul in 1879 the character he had established thus early in his career, and added one more to the long list of heroes who have shed lustre on the annals of the Regiment.

The Regiment remained at Durriabad till the end of December, when a sudden order was received for it to make a forced march to join Sir Alfred Horsford on the Nepaul frontier. The distance, 120 miles, was covered in four days, and the Nana and other rebel leaders were driven into the Terai, where the wretched coward died of malaria shortly afterwards. The Regiment remained ten days with Sir Alfred, and, there being nothing further to do, it marched back 900 miles to quarters at Dagshai, where it arrived on April 18th, 1859, after two years of as severe and continuous campaigning as perhaps

\* Afterwards Major-General Sir Trevor Wheler, Bart.

† See Appendix "Q," p. 225.

Map No 20.





was ever experienced by any regiment, and during which its officers and men had gained no less than five Victoria Crosses, viz. :—

Lieutenant T. A. Butler,  
Lieutenant Frank D. M. Brown,  
Serjeant J. M. Guire,  
Drummer M. Ryan,  
Private J. McGovern.

The Mutiny was now over. Its neck had been broken at Delhi, its heart had been plucked out at Lucknow. The rebellion, which had assumed such gigantic proportions and caused British supremacy in India to tremble in the balance, had been fought out, and it will ever be remembered with pride that both the Regiments of European Bengal Fusiliers (afterwards the 1st and 2nd Battalions of The Royal Munster Fusiliers) fulfilled the confidence placed in them with courage and determination unsurpassed in British history.

In a Proclamation dated November 1st, 1858, H.M. Queen Victoria intimated that she had assumed the direct government of India, and the East India Company, after a duration of over 250 years, ceased to exist. The troops in the Company's service were to be transferred to that of the Crown, and the distinction between "Royal Troops" and the "Company's European Troops," which had existed for over 100 years, was to disappear. Two questions had to be solved from the military point of view—one whether the British forces of the army in India should henceforth form a portion of the Imperial British Army, the units of which would take their turn in garrisoning India; the other whether they should become localized forces maintained solely for service in India. It was decided in the end that the "British Army serving in India" should form part of the Imperial British Army.

The conditions of service under the Company had suited the requirements of those younger sons who sought to be the fathers of their own fortunes, to whom a commission in the Indian Service was not only a provision for life, but a promise of a career of honour and distinction.

Rightly or wrongly, it was realized by a large number of the Company's servants that this change would uproot old associations, and possibly deprive them of privileges; some feared that India, under the immediate control of the Home Government, might be sacrificed to party ambition.

The Company's army had at all times been conspicuous for its loyalty and devotion to the Crown, and it was no lack of loyalty that caused some of its servants to view with apprehension and dismay the change which had become inevitable.

It speaks well for the internal discipline of the 1st and 2nd Regiments of European Bengal Fusiliers that although after the annexation proclamation of November 1st, 1858, there followed a lapse of upwards of two years, during which the officers of the European regiments were removed to a general list, and directed to "do duty" only with the former regiments, and although a large

proportion of the Company's European army was in a dissatisfied state, closely bordering on mutiny, there was no single instance of insubordination in the ranks of the two regiments.

H.R.H. The Field-Marshal Commanding-in-Chief issued the following General Order :—

" The General Commanding-in-Chief has received Her Majesty's commands to make known to the British Army serving in India that the arrangements for consolidating the European forces of the Crown in that country have now been completed.

" His Royal Highness hails with satisfaction an event which he trusts may be conducive to the best interests of the Empire, whilst it will be of advantage to the troops whom it may concern.

" He feels persuaded that the glorious deeds of arms for which the Line and Local Troops have ever been conspicuous will not be forgotten by them now that they are about to join one united Army, and that the only feeling of rivalry which will henceforth exist between the various corps will be a high spirit of emulation as regards discipline and good conduct during peace, and of gallant bearing and devotion, should their services be hereafter called for in the field.

" In the name of the Army, the Commander-in-Chief most heartily and cordially welcomes to the ranks of the general service of the Crown the Officers, the Non-Commissioned Officers, and soldiers of the local services of the three Presidencies in India.

" GEORGE,  
" *General Commanding-in-Chief.*"

It was further announced that Her Majesty had been pleased to confer upon the 1st Bengal European Fusiliers the honourable distinction of " The 101st Regiment of Foot (Royal Bengal Fusiliers)."\*

\* See Appendix "A," Vol. II.



THE INDIAN MUTINY MEDAL  
1857-8.

## 2ND BENGAL EUROPEAN REGIMENT.

### CHAPTER IX

FORMATION OF "THE 2ND BENGAL EUROPEAN REGIMENT"—PUNJAB CAMPAIGN—BATTLES OF CHILLIANWALLA—GOOJERAT—BURMESE WAR, 1852—INDIAN MUTINY—ACTION AT BUDLEEKA-SERAI—SIEGE AND CAPTURE OF DELHI—COMPANY'S AND ROYAL ARMIES AMALGAMATED.

*Reference Maps Nos. 1, 2, 16, 17, 18, 19, 20. Pages 206, 184, 186, 140, 158, 176.*

IN accordance with a General Order published July 29th, 1839, by the President-in-Council, the raising of a "2nd Bengal European Regiment" was carried out, and volunteers from the 1st Bengal European Regiment were called for to form a nucleus. Eighty-two men were selected, and proceeded to Hazarebagh, with the invalids and time-expired men of the 1st Regiment. Out of this number Lance-Corporal Sullivan was appointed Sergeant-Major. They were under command of Lieut.-Colonel George Warren, who had by this time recovered from the wounds he had received at the capture of the fortress of Ghuznee. The detachment marched from Cabul on October 15th with the second column of the Army returning from Afghanistan, under command of Major-General Thackwell.

Although many of the officers of the old 2nd Bengal European Regiment, which had been incorporated with the 1st in 1830, were still serving with the latter regiment, all the officers of the newly-formed regiment were taken from the General List of the Army.\*

White facings with silver lace were prescribed for the Regiment as worn by the old 2nd Bengal European Regiment of 1796.

The Regiment proceeded in July, 1840, from Hazarebagh to Ghazeepore, arriving in November. During the march cholera broke out, causing many deaths, but the disease was gradually mastered. In March, 1842, the Regiment moved to Cawnpore, where the first batch of recruits from England joined. It was then detailed to form part of the Army of Reserve, under General Sir Jasper Nicols, K.C.B., which was to assemble at Ferozepore, and left Cawnpore for that station on October 1st, 1842. On arrival on November 20th, it was placed in the 4th Brigade, 2nd Division, along with the 39th Native Infantry and Sirmoor Battalion under Brigadier F. Young. The Regiment left Ferozepore on January 6th, 1843, for Meerut. On arriving at Delhi *en route*, it formed part of the escort to Lord Ellenborough, the Governor-General. It arrived at Meerut on February 24th, where a great many of the men suffered

\* The list of officers for January, 1840, will be found in the Appendix "T," p. 239.



from ophthalmia. This disease was not got completely rid of for over two years.

On October 30th the march was resumed towards Umballa, which was reached on November 10th, and a camp formed for five and a half months.

The Regiment was then divided into two wings. Headquarters and the Left Wing returned to Meerut, reaching there on April 15th, 1844. The Right Wing, under Major J. Cowslade, marched to Ludhiana, arriving on April 9th. In October Headquarters and Left Wing left Meerut for Sukkur, and was joined by the Right Wing on passing Ludhiana on November 6th.

The Regiment was halted at Subzulkote on December 30th to form part of a force under Major-General E. H. Simpson, and immediately proceeded across the desert to the mountains north of Shikarpore, being attached to a brigade under Major-General G. Hunter, C.B. It was employed with the force, under the personal command of Major-General Sir Charles J. Napier, G.C.B., which operated against some border tribes, under a rebel chief, Bejah Khan, who was forced to surrender at Truchee. The Regiment was mentioned in despatches and returned to Sukkur on March 26th.

In August, 1845, the Regiment left Sukkur for Karachi, leaving No. 2 Company to garrison Sukkur, arriving on September 13th, where it remained till the Headquarters and Right Wing left for Sukkur on December 24th, and the Left Wing under Major Fairhead on December 30th.

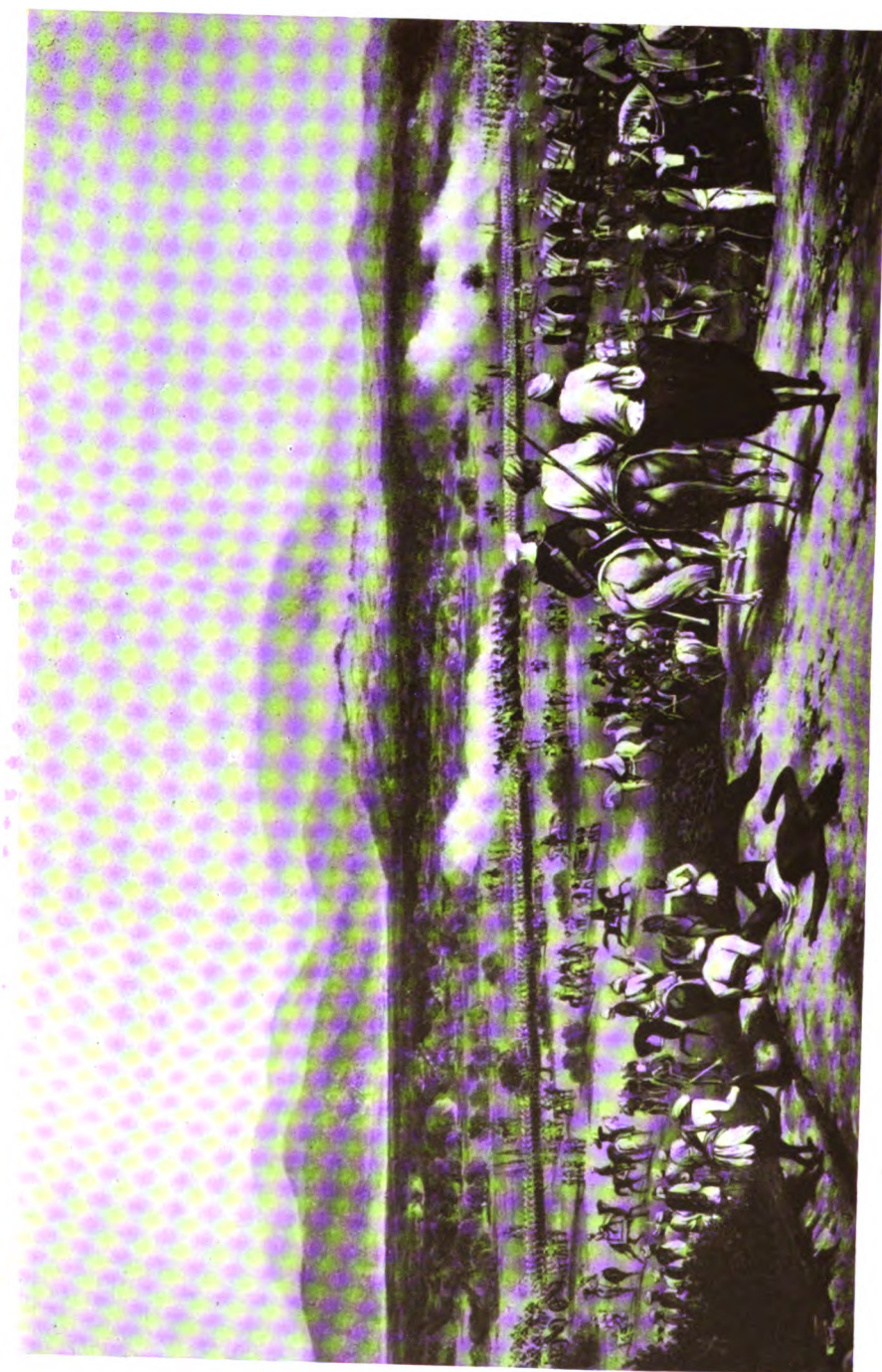
On January 21st, 1846, the Regiment moved to camp at Rohree, where it remained till February 13th, with a force under Sir Charles Napier, called the Indus Field Force. It then marched to Bahawalpore on March 3rd. During this time Lieut.-Colonel J. Frushard commanded a brigade and Lieutenant F. D. Atkinson, the Adjutant, acted as Brigade Major. A company was detailed as escort to Sir Charles during his passage up the River Indus. On the breaking up of the Indus Field Force at Bahawalpore, the Regiment commenced its march towards Subathu, where it arrived on April 20th. Strength, 36 officers, 786 other ranks.

As there was only permanent accommodation for one battalion, and that was already occupied by the 1st Bengal European Fusiliers (1st Battalion Royal Munster Fusiliers), the Regiment was housed in temporary buildings. During the time the two regiments were quartered together the closest friendship was maintained between them, in sport and everything else.

The Regiment remained at Subathu till October, when it left for Jullundur, under command of Lieut.-Colonel C. Godby, C.B., to form part of the escort for the Governor-General, Viscount Hardinge, G.C.B. It proceeded with him to Burreewat Ghat and thence to Lahore, returning to Jullundur on January 4th, 1847, and Subathu on March 12th.

A cricket match was played at Simla on August 23rd, 1847, between Simla and the officers stationed at Subathu, which resulted in a win for Simla, who scored 198 against 64 and 74; Subathu was represented by Captain Boyd, Lieutenants Baldwin, Hawes, Patterson, Farrington, and Assistant-





CHILLIANWALLAH, JANUARY 13TH, 1849.

Surgeon Ross of the Regiment, and Captain Gaynor, Lieutenants Wheler, Battye, Palmer, and Salusbury, of the 1st Bengal Fusiliers.

Early in 1848 on account of disturbances, an outbreak at Multan, and the murder of two British officers, a General Order was issued directing the assembly of an army at Ferozepore, which was called "the Army of the Punjab," General Lord Gough, G.C.B., assumed the command in person, and the Regiment was ordered to take part in the coming campaign.

The Regiment marched from Subathu on September 24th, arriving at Ferozepore on October 14th. It was placed in the 4th Brigade under Brigadier-General C. Godby, C.B., the Regiment being commanded by Major James Steel; it moved to Shah Dera on the 29th and on November 22nd the Brigade joined the Army at Ramnagar.

The Battle of Ramnagar was fought on November 22nd, the day the Brigade joined the Army. The Regiment was not actively engaged, although they had a few men wounded by stray shots. The result of the battle was in favour of the Sikhs, who crossed the River Chenab and took up a position on the right bank. On December 1st a division of about 8,000 men under Sir Joseph Thackwell crossed the Chenab, and at 9 a.m. on December 4th Godby's Brigade, which included the 31st and 70th Native Infantry, joined the Division. The passage of the Chenab at the ford of Ghari by the Brigade had been made under great difficulties, the water being too deep to permit of the troops wading through it. As the pontoon train could not be fixed, a bridge of boats was the last resource, and it was not till 5 p.m. on the 3rd that the embarkation commenced, the Regiment being the first to enter the boats. On the 5th the whole force moved to the village of Helah.

On December 18th Lord Gough with his forces joined Thackwell at Helah. On January 13th, 1849, the army approached the position occupied by Sirdar Shere Sing, the Sikh leader, which was situated at Chillianwalla, and was of considerable strength, with thick jungle in the front and rear, and on the left the village of Rasul.

**Battle of  
Chillianwalla.**

Shere Sing opened fire first and Gough at once hurled his infantry at the enemy with instructions to capture the enemy's guns at the point of the bayonet.

General Sir Walter Raleigh Gilbert's Division, which consisted of Mountain's Brigade and Godby's Brigade (including the Regiment), occupied the right of the attacking line; the left was under Colonel Campbell, and in the centre were the heavy guns.

The British line advanced through dense jungle for a distance of nearly a mile before sighting the enemy, and formed up under a heavy fire. The command was given to advance and the troops attacked the enemy with the bayonet, forcing them back, but the Sikhs soon recovering themselves charged down on the left of the line, and made a determined onslaught on Colonel Campbell's Division.

The Sikhs, seeing the right of the line exposed, owing to the retirement of some of the cavalry and artillery, brought round some guns and infantry, intending to take the British in flank, but Brigadier Godby, discerning their object, wheeled back the two companies on the right of the Regiment\* and opened fire on the advancing foe, which caused them to make a detour. The Sikhs, however, had completely outflanked the line, and it soon became apparent that they had circled round under cover of the jungle, and were charging down on the rear of the Regiment. Godby, unable to change his front on account of the dense jungle, faced the Regiment to the rear, and with his rear rank in front dashed at the enemy.

The enemy, emerging from the jungle, advanced steadily with drums beating and colours flying. The Regiment, still rear rank in front, gave a cheer and charged the Sikh line. The enemy, for the main part, held their ground and made a desperate resistance, using their tulwars and knives with terrible effect. After a severe struggle the Sikh line gave way; the Regiment now made a charge for the guns which had been galling them severely, and captured two at the point of the bayonet. Godby then faced to his front and returned to his former position. This exploit of the Regiment proved that in point of steadiness, discipline, and courage, even under the most trying circumstances, it was second to none in the Army.

The tide of battle was now turning in favour of the British. The left of the Army had re-formed, and was driving the Sikhs back at the point of the bayonet; whilst the right, having cleared the enemy from its rear, had regained the ground which it had lost.

With a simultaneous advance the enemy were repulsed along the whole line, and Gough, however justly he may be censured for his rash attack, had the satisfaction of seeing the enemy driven from the field, thus winning the Battle of Chillianwalla.

Darkness was now setting in and Gough retired to the position he held the previous day, the British losses being 89 officers and 2,357 men killed and wounded, of which the Regiment had Lieutenant Nightingale very severely wounded, Lieutenant Bleamire slightly wounded, 6 rank and file killed, 5 serjeants and 54 other ranks wounded.

The following account from "The Journal of a Subaltern," written by an officer of the Regiment, and quoted in "Narrative of the Second Sikh War" by E. J. Thackwell, p. 145, gives a vivid account of the doings of the Regiment at the Battle of Chillianwalla :—

"The word came for the infantry to advance. 'Fix bayonets. Load. Deploy into line. Quick march.' And just then came a roll of musketry that drove us almost to madness. 'Quick march.' And into the jungle we plunged in line, with a deafening cheer, the roll of musketry increasing

\* In action the British regiments were always in the centre, having a native regiment on each flank, but on this occasion the Regiment was on the right, the 31st Native Infantry having formed square early in the engagement, and (probably owing to the whole line having taken ground to the right) got away from its brigade altogether.

every moment. On we went at a rapid double, dashing through the bushes and bounding over every impediment ; faster rolled the musketry—crash upon crash the cannon poured forth its deadly contents. On swept our brigade, and, gaining an open space in the jungle, the whole of the enemy's line burst into view. ' Charge ' ran the word through our ranks, and the men bounded forward like angry bull-dogs, pouring in a murderous fire. The enemy's bullets whizzed above our heads ; the very air seemed teeming with them ; man after man was struck down and rolled in the dust. But a passing glance was all that we could give them. And onward we went, bearing on their line with a steadiness which nothing could resist. They fired a last volley, wavered, and then turned and fled, leaving the ground covered with dead and wounded. Pursuit in a jungle like that was useless, where we could not see twenty yards before us ; so we halted, and began to collect our wounded when all of a sudden a fire was opened upon us in our rear. A large body of the enemy had turned our flank in the jungle, and got between us and the rest of the troops ; another party was on our left ; and we found ourselves, with our light field battery, completely surrounded and alone in the field.

" The word was given, ' Right about face,' and we steadily advanced, loading and firing as we went. Captain Dawes' battery was the saving of us. As the cavalry were bearing down, the Brigadier shouted ' A shower of grape in there,' and every gun was turned on them, the men working as coolly as on parade ; and a salvo was poured in that sent horse and man head-over-heels in heaps. If it had not been for that battery we should have been cut up to a man. The fire was fearful ; the atmosphere seemed alive with balls. I can only compare it to a storm of hail. They rang above my head and ears so thick that I felt that if I put out my hand it would be taken off. A man was knocked over on either side of me, and I expected every moment to be hit, so incessant was the storm of balls.

" I thought about you all, and breathed a short prayer ; it was all I had time for, for we were obliged to be almost everywhere at once, keeping the men in line, which from the jungle was extremely difficult. Our firing was beautiful ; every man was as steady as a rock and fired low and well ; while the sepoys on our right were blazing away into the air, and taking no aim whatever. All this time the enemy were dodging about the bushes, banging away at us and then disappearing.

" At last General Gilbert rode up and said to Steel, ' Well Major, how are you. Do you think you are near enough to charge ? ' ' By all means,' said Steel. ' Well, then, let's see how you can do it.' ' Men of the 2nd Europeans, prepare to charge—Charge.' And on we went with a stunning charge. Poor Nightingale was shot in the head, and fell at my feet.

" The Sikhs fought like devils, singly, sword in hand, and strove to break through our line. But it was no go ; and, after a short struggle, we swept them before us and remained masters of the field.

" This is only what happened in our part of the field. We were on the

extreme right, and the thickness of the jungle prevented our seeing what was going on elsewhere. We took three of their guns in our second charge, and spiked them on the ground. Numbers of the Sikhs were bayoneted by our men in the act of rearing themselves up and taking aim at our officers. Several of our wounded were cut to pieces in the rear, where we had been obliged to leave them in the charge. Surrounded as we were, it couldn't be avoided, and fearful was the retaliation the Europeans took for it—not a man was spared. The battle lasted for three hours ; and so maddening was the excitement, that it seemed scarcely half an hour. The colours were carried gallantly by De Mole and Toogood, the two senior ensigns, and are shot through and through. Our own loss is about seventy killed and wounded ; and our not having lost more may be attributed to the beautiful order we kept, and the admirable way in which we were supported by Captain Dawes' battery. I had two or three very narrow escapes ; a man's arm was taken away with a round shot touching me. I had one shoulder knot shot off ; and a fellow who was lying with a leg smashed, about ten yards in front, was taking a steady aim at me, when I rushed forward to disarm him. He fired, and the ball whizzed past my ear. I tried to save him, but before I could interpose he was riddled with bayonets ; and so, I am sorry to say, were almost all the wounded. There is no holding men when their blood is up."

There is in the possession of the Norfolk Regiment a mess table known to the Royal Munster Fusiliers as the "Chillianwalla Table." It is the table, then in the Mess of the 2nd Bengal European Regiment (afterwards 2nd Battalion Royal Munster Fusiliers) on which the bodies of the officers of the 24th Regiment (South Wales Borderers) who had been killed at the Battle of Chillianwalla, January 13th, 1849, were laid before burial the following day.

When the Norfolk Regiment relieved the 2nd Battalion in Burma in 1888, the table was inspected by Captain J. Liptrott, then Paymaster (Ensign, December 18th, 1866), who was quite satisfied that it was the old table that he had known so well.

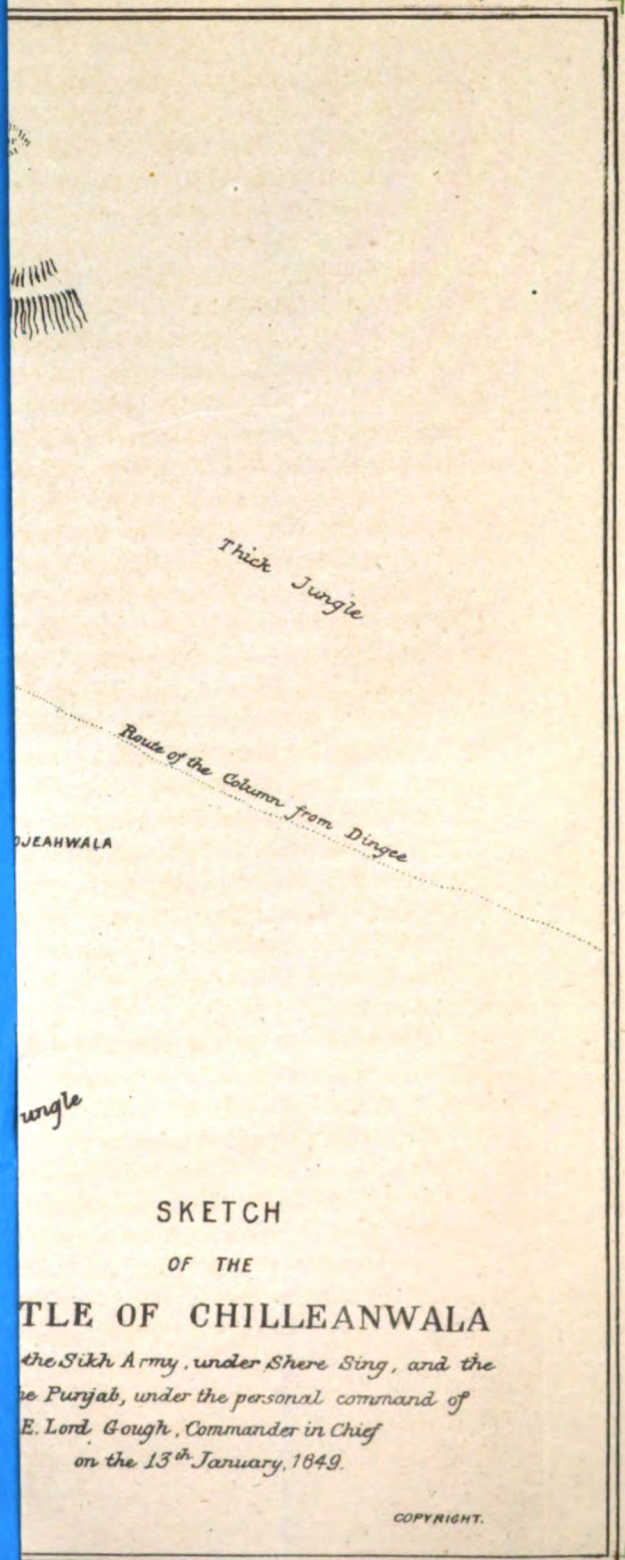
The tradition in the Battalion is that when it left India in November, 1871, the table was sold to another regimental or battery mess by the Acting Mess President during the temporary absence of the majority of the officers, and passed into the possession of the Norfolk Regiment afterwards.

The story was frequently related in the presence of the late Colonel Campbell Clark who took part in the Battle of Chillianwalla, and he would certainly have corrected any mistake on the subject.

On January 21st Multan fell, and General Whish with about 9,000 men shortly afterwards joined Lord Gough. After various changes of ground by both armies, the Sikhs finally took up position in front of the village of Goojerat, and on the morning of February 21st, the armies faced each other. Gough's plan was to attack the enemy on his left and centre simultaneously, driving him back on to his right, at which he would then hurl his own left.

**Battle of  
Goojerat.**





CHILLEANWALA

*Thick Jungle*

*Route of the Column from Dingee*

*Jungle*

# SKETCH

OF THE

## BATTLE OF CHILLEANWALA

*between the Sikh Army, under Shere Singh, and the British Army, under the personal command of  
Lieut. General Gough, Commander in Chief  
on the 13<sup>th</sup> January, 1849.*

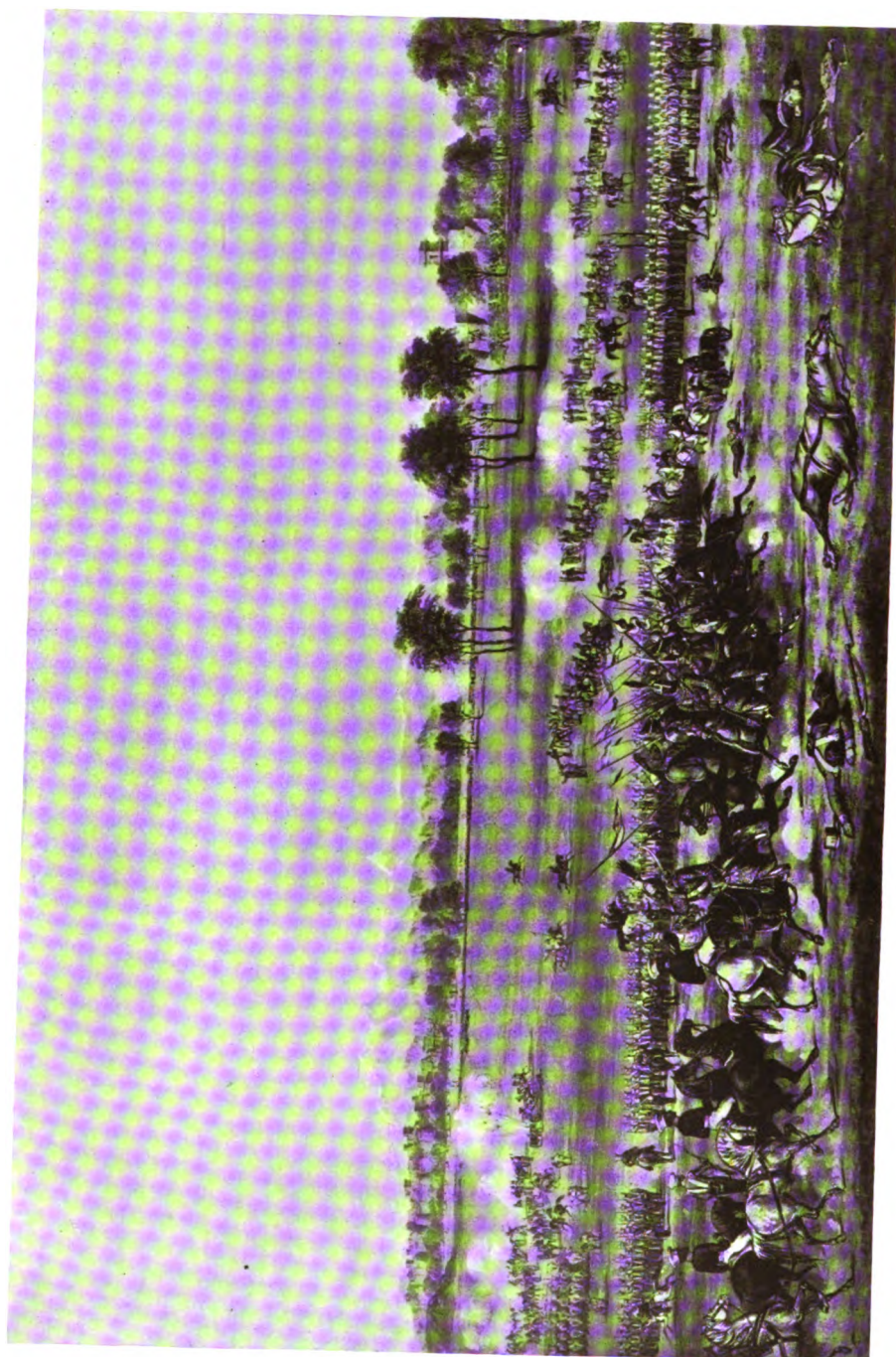
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R. MUN. FUS.









GOOJERAT, FEBRUARY 21ST, 1849.

Generals Gilbert's and Whish's Divisions were told off to attack the centre, Gilbert's consisting of Penny's Brigade and Mountain's Brigade, the Regiment being one of those appointed to capture the fortified village of Barra Kalra, situated in the enemy's immediate front, and considered to be the key of his position.

The Regiment advanced in line to the attack, but Barra Kalra was defended by some of the best regiments in the Sikh Army, selected by Chhattar Sing for the post of honour, as they had displayed signal bravery at the Battle of Chillianwalla. The Regiment, advancing to within a short distance of the village, fired a volley, and the Left Wing, climbing up the mud walls, sprang on to the roofs of the houses, many of the men letting themselves down into the narrow and tortuous streets, and driving the enemy out at the farther side, the Right Wing in the meantime had passed round the village and engaged the enemy's supports.

Two Sikh Colours\* were taken by the Regiment; the enemy bravely defended these standards, every Sikh falling before they were captured.

But the battle was not yet over. The Sikh infantry, when they became aware how small was the force which had driven them from the village, returned in masses, so that at this juncture it appeared as if the Regiment must inevitably be doubled up and crushed. Fordyce's Horse Artillery, which had covered the attacking party, had retired to obtain a further supply of ammunition. The enemy's artillery, now unopposed, poured showers of grape into the Regiment, which was at the same time threatened by the large masses in its front. The Regiment was drawn up in line under a withering fire, but such was their eagerness that it was with difficulty Colonel Steel could keep them from rushing forward at the enemy's guns.

A serious accident happened about this time to two men of the Regiment and four sepoys of the 70th Native Infantry. They thoughtlessly sat down to smoke near an ammunition waggon, and were discussing the events of the day, when a spark ignited the powder, and they were hurled into the air. One man's head was blown off, and the faces of the others were like "blackened masks, and their eyes seemed bursting from their heads."

Just as the enemy were approaching the British line, a portion of Fordyce's Horse Artillery came galloping up, and in a few seconds unlimbered their guns and poured round after round of grape into the close ranks of the advancing enemy; this, in addition to the well-directed fire of the Regiment, caused the Sikhs to falter, and then slowly and sullenly retire.

From this moment the victory of Goojerat became a certainty. Malleeson, in his "Decisive Battles in India," p. 391, says of the capture of the position of Barra Kalra, "The resistance was determined, the bearing of the Sikhs heroic. They met the advancing foe face to face, and strove with undaunted courage to drive him back. Vain, however, were their efforts. Step by step

\* These Colours remained in the Officers' Mess of the 2nd Battalion Royal Munster Fusiliers until its disbandment. They are now in the Royal United Service Institution, Whitehall.

did the British troops make good their footing, until at last they forced the enemy, still fronting them, to fall back on his second line. The gallant nature of the defence may be gathered from the loss inflicted by the Sikhs on their assailants. In carrying the village of Barra Kalra, the 3rd Brigade (2nd Europeans, 31st and 70th Native Infantry) lost upwards of 300 killed and wounded." The 2nd European Regiment lost in killed, wounded, and missing 152—Lieutenant Sprot, 2 serjeants and 6 other ranks, killed ; Captain Boyd, Lieutenant Elderton, and Ensigns Toogood, Sandford, and Matheson, 12 serjeants, and 123 other ranks wounded, and 3 other ranks missing.

The following is taken from "The Journal of a Subaltern," written by an officer of the Regiment, and quoted in "Narrative of the Second Sikh War," by E. J. Thackwell, p. 214, in reference to the Regiment's doings at the Battle of Goojerat :—

"A very annoying fire was opened upon us from a village about two hundred yards in front, and our brigade was ordered to storm it. Our men, who had been held down all the time, started up with a cheer. It was the last some of them gave, poor fellows. A round shot took off a man's head close to me, and splattered his brains in my face, the bullets whizzing about like hail, and, as we came nearer, grape was poured into us ; but not a man wavered for a second. 'Officers to the front, lead on your men,' shouted the Major ; and we sprang forward amidst a shower of balls, dashed across a deep nullah, gave one rattling volley, and poured into the village at every point. Many of the Sikhs stood and fought like men ; but the greater portion (there must have been about 1,000) left the village at one end, as we entered at the other. Those who remained were shot or bayoneted on the spot. There was no quarter given. A number of them shut themselves up in their houses, but our men beat down the doors, and poured in volley after volley, and sullenly and savagely they died, fighting to the last. We captured three of their standards in the village ; and then, leaving the Left Wing to keep possession, we defiled to the right, and found ourselves under a hot fire of grape and canister, totally unsupported, as we had advanced in front of the whole line to storm the village, and the troop of horse artillery had been obliged to retire, being temporarily disabled. This was the most deadly fire we were exposed to during the day, the balls hissing about like winged serpents. A troop of horse artillery dashed past us at a gallop, drew up, unlimbered, and returned the enemy's fire. The whole line of infantry was seen advancing ; our guns poured in a withering fire ; the enemy left theirs and fled."

The Sikh Army, now thoroughly disorganized, fled, throwing away its arms, clothing, and accoutrements ; so that the whole line of retreat was thickly strewn with guns, tents, exhausted cattle, standards, and all the debris of war.

On February 22nd two British divisions marched in pursuit ; that under General Sir Walter Raleigh Gilbert—with whom the Regiment was—proceeding



BATTLE OF GOOJERAT.  
21st FEB. 1849.



towards the River Jhelum, which it crossed on the 27th still pressing on the track of the disorganized Sikh Army.

Gilbert followed his enemy with vigour, the British column making one uninterrupted march of forty-seven miles, on which occasion the General expressed his admiration of the spirit and endurance of the Regiment.

On March 14th the Sikh Army, overtaken and helpless, surrendered unconditionally; the Sirdars delivering up their swords to General Gilbert. Forty-one pieces of artillery were surrendered, and the shattered remnant of the conquered army laid down its arms.

It was the Sikhs who first shook the Indian Empire to its very foundations; and we shall see that, in 1857, it was the Sikhs who afterwards saved it.

On April 4th the Regiment left Peshawar *en route* for Lahore, which was reached on May 8th. During the time the Regiment was at this station, the Commander-in-Chief, Sir H. Gough, wrote to the Officer Commanding to ask if he could in any way do anything for the Regiment.

To be made a Fusilier Regiment was the request put forward. Sir H. Gough answered that he would willingly recommend it as no honour that could be conferred would be too great a reward for the splendid manner in which the Regiment had behaved throughout the whole of the Punjab campaign.

For their distinguished services during the Punjab War, the 2nd European Regiment was—January 18th, 1850—designated "The 2nd European Bengal Fusiliers," "to mark the high sense entertained by the Government of the gallant, exemplary, and praiseworthy conduct of the 2nd European Regiment during the late operations in the Punjab."—"Government Gazette," No. 36, of 1850.

General Warren in his Memoirs says: "When Lord Hardinge (who had been on all the battlefields with the Sikhs) returned to Calcutta, during a public dinner at Government House, he turned to me and said across the table, 'Your regiment are much too fine a lot of fellows to remain in India. I shall advise Her Majesty to take them into her service.' What this observation left me to feel I will leave you to guess. Some days afterwards his Lordship told me that he had never seen a regiment rally better after it had been driven back."

On January 9th, 1850, the Regiment left Lahore *en route* for Agra, reaching there on March 2nd; a short time afterwards new Colours were presented to the Regiment by the Hon. Mr. Thompson, Lieutenant-Governor of the N.W. Provinces. These Colours were to mark the advancement of the Regiment to the status of a "Fusilier" regiment.

General Sir Charles Napier, during his inspection of the European barracks at Agra, desired a sample of the bread furnished to the Fusiliers to be brought to him, and condemned its quality in Napierian language. "I would," exclaimed the angry chief, "hang the man that supplies this bread, if he had a wife and twenty children."\*

\* "United Service Gazette" of February 9th, 1850.



The following are a few interesting notes from the recollections of Colonel Coghill, who joined the Regiment at Agra in 1851. He states:—"In those days there were relics of far back soldiering now forgotten. Helmets were unknown. Garrotting leather stocks were worn, cross belts checked breathing, and tight knapsacks stopped circulation. The ideal regiment was one which wore the tightest jackets or tail coats. Punishment was severe, and many a time as Adjutant I have stood by the triangles while men received fifty lashes for what would be considered minor offences now. For minor offences then there was a punishment now dead called 'Taps,' *i.e.*, when a man was 'confined to barracks' he had to dress in marching order with knapsack, etc., every hour between breakfast and tattoo, and report himself to the N.C.O. of the quarterguard. At the hour the drummer on guard would tap his drum to call up the defaulters. On 16th September the Regiment left Agra for Fort William in a primitive manner. Some hundreds of native boats were fitted up with thatched roofs and decked underneath, and according to their size were filled with men. The officers by companies 'chummed' together, two and three in boats fitted up with chintz lining and carpeted and well furnished, with a smaller cooking boat attached. At daylight these boats started down the Jumna and at sunset were moored to the banks and the men taken out for exercise."

Major-General R. Blackall was appointed Colonel of the Regiment in 1852 *vice* Lieut.-General Sir T. Whitehead, K.C.B., deceased.

The Regiment received orders to proceed to Calcutta by the river route, and embarked on September 16th, 1852, in native boats, and took about seven weeks in transit, arriving at Fort William on November 10th, where it took up quarters, the Regiment being the first of the Company's European troops that had ever been permitted to hold this Fort.

On April 19th, 1853, four companies under Captain H. Mackenzie, embarked at Calcutta for Moulmein, Burma, where they remained till October 17th, when they proceeded to Prome, arriving on November 1st. In October Headquarters and the remaining six companies, under Colonel A. Spens, embarked at Calcutta in detachments for Burma, and arrived at Prome, where they were joined by the other four companies. Shortly after arrival at Prome Lieutenant and Adjutant J. Silver died; he was succeeded by Lieutenant E. J. White.

**Burmese War,  
1853-55.**

On November 10th detachments were sent to Shoedong and Namjam.

On December 26th four companies under Captain A. Boyd were detailed to form part of a force under command of Colonel Cotton, destined for the Irrawaddy district against some insurgents; these companies rejoined Headquarters on February 10th, 1854.

Further notes from Colonel Coghill's recollections:—"For years after I joined Messes were not compulsory, though nearly all joined them. In many 'Queen's' Messes smoking was 'defendu,' and I have seen the Mess-room deserted after dinner for smoking in the verandahs. Up to 1855

infantry officers were not allowed to wear moustaches, and only whiskers ending at a line from the ear to the corner of the mouth. A very pernicious system obtained in the Company's Army of taking regimental officers to fill staff appointments. Those removed were not seconded or replaced, so that regiments were denuded."

Lieut.-Colonel Spens was appointed to the command of Promé on February 1st, and the command of the Regiment in consequence devolved on Captain J. Liptrott. In December the Regiment was conveyed by steamer to Thayetmyo and Meady, four companies to the latter station under Captain J. Bleaymire.

On March 16th, 1855, the Regiment under command of Captain A. Boyd, as Captain Liptrott had been appointed to the command of the 17th Native Cavalry, embarked for Moulmein. No. 5 Company, under Captain E. J. White, was detailed for Bassein, and two other details were also furnished by No. 6 Company to Sittanoo under Lieutenant J. C. Paterson, and by Nos. 7 and 8 Companies to Showaygheen under Captain Bleaymire.

Lieut.-Colonel St. G. D. Showers was transferred from the 40th Native Infantry on June 10th, 1855, and took command of the Regiment.

During the month of November the several detachments embarked for Bengal, and on landing at Calcutta proceeded by water to Allahabad, where the Regiment assembled on February 2nd, 1856. The following day it began the march to Subathu, but on arriving at Cawnpore was ordered to move by forced marches on Lucknow; when within one day's march of that city it was ordered to continue its march to Subathu, where it arrived on April 10th, 1856; in November it proceeded to Umballa for drill and exercises, returning to Subathu on March 23rd, 1857.

On the outbreak of the Mutiny in May the Regiment was stationed at Subathu, but at a few hours' notice proceeded in two forced marches to Umballa, reaching there on the 17th. Headquarters and six

**Indian Mutiny.** companies under Captain Boyd joined the British Army assembled at Alipore, one march out of Delhi, leaving four

companies (250 men) under Captain Webber D. Harris, at Umballa to keep open communications with the Punjab, and provide for the safety of Umballa.

The following notes and extracts from "Reminiscences of the Siege of Delhi," by Major-General Webber D. Harris, of the Regiment, will be read with interest, as showing some of the doings of these four companies.

"An outbreak had taken place at Ferozepore, and sixteen of the rebels being captured, the civil authorities handed them over to the military to be executed. This was done by blowing them from the guns, the four companies being the sole English force were present to see the sentence carried out. All went off comfortably, except that some of the men were very sick, and the cholera being about I marched the detachment to the canteen, and there served out to each man a glass of rum. . . . We officers returned to the

scene of the execution. The gunners were engaged in removing the legs and arms of the criminals, who had been tied to the gun wheels. Nothing was left of the trunks, but the heads all lay in close proximity."

Again "The Officer Commanding the Station got alarmed about incendiaries and ordered a party to patrol the lines nightly; it consisted of fifty of my men, a troop of native cavalry and two guns." "What good this force could have effected I never understood, as on still nights our advance could be heard miles off. I was brought on the roster as field officer and had to go round my guards with two native lancers behind. As I was mounted on my pony and they on their chargers, and we had to go sometimes for miles through deserted roads, I used to think what would be the best way to receive their charge, and concluded to ask them to 'let me off this time.'"

A few days after the afore-mentioned execution the Commanding Officer of the 4th Native Infantry decided to disarm his regiment, and the four companies of the Regiment were to parade near the church in case of disturbance; the men were marched there at the time appointed, and shortly afterwards the Commanding Officer rode up and asked for the loan of a bugler to sound the "alarm" in the event of any signs of insubordination, but luckily the disarming of the regiment passed off quietly. "Even the soldiers of my party," says General Harris, "thought there would be resistance, and were heard discussing the matter amongst themselves, and eventually concluded that it was our bugler who did the business; he was a particularly ugly boy, and they declared his looks had frightened the sepoys."

Shortly after this a report came in that a body of rebels were marching to Delhi, and Captain W. D. Harris was ordered with 150 of the men to join the magistrate at Munimajra and try to cut the rebels off. He started with the men in carts and on elephants and pushed rapidly on, arriving at Munimajra, thirty-five miles, the same night, but, owing to the slowness of the magistrate in coming to a decision, the mutineers escaped; but fifty selected men and two officers pursued them on camels so closely, that, finding they would be caught, the foe scattered and the detachment then returned to Umballa, and the next day a detachment of Her Majesty's 8th Foot, who had also been in pursuit of them, arrived there. It numbered almost to a man the same strength as the four companies of the Regiment, and had left the cantonment, Jullundur, with only its arms, ammunition and clothes. Now came the chance to rejoin the Regiment which Captain Harris had been waiting for; he had had letters from his brother officers at Delhi, and the whole detachment were eager to take their share in the struggle going on there. So, going to the Officer Commanding the station, he pointed out that "now this detachment had arrived I could be spared. They had nothing, I had everything, that a whole regiment at Headquarters would be better than portions of two, etc., etc." The Officer Commanding pointed out that some of the four companies were on detachment, but Captain Harris boldly said they would be back that day, and sent men on camels to bring them in, and finally got permission to

go if he could march out his men fully equipped by midnight ; with great trouble he managed this, and at 1 a.m. followed himself.

At the last camping place before reaching Delhi the party were joined by an enormous convoy of ammunition in some hundreds of native carts, and extra precautions had to be taken on account of the extended line of march.

At sunrise on June 23rd, the column was met by some of the staff from Delhi and Captain Harris handed over his charge.

We must now return to the doings of the Headquarters and the six companies under Captain Boyd, which, with the 60th Rifles and **Action at Budlee-Ka-Serai.** Sirmoor Battalion, composed the 2nd Infantry Brigade, under Brigadier-General Graves. The troops under Major-General Sir Henry Barnard, K.C.B., an artillery division, a cavalry brigade, 1st and 2nd Infantry Brigades, left Alipore at 1 a.m. on June 8th, and moved towards the enemy's advanced entrenched position at Budlee-Ka-Serai, four miles from Delhi. The 2nd Brigade was to act on the left-hand side of the Grand Trunk road to Delhi, the 1st Brigade being on the right. When the advance picquets met the enemy the brigades deployed. The 1st attacked the main body of the enemy and the 2nd Brigade threatened their right. This caused the enemy to fall back and abandon the position. Though the men were all more or less exhausted, General Barnard determined to push on towards the Ridge. When the cross-roads were reached the 2nd Brigade with some horse artillery and a squadron of Her Majesty's 9th Lancers, took the left-hand road towards the cantonments, the 1st Brigade taking the road to the right. The attack was made on both flanks of the Ridge simultaneously, whilst skirmishers from the Sirmoor Battalion threatened it at the same time in front.

A heavy cannonade was opened on the Regiment and Rifles during the advance, but by a gallant charge the position was carried, and the enemy finding themselves taken in flank and rear abandoned their guns, and the whole Ridge was swept clear of them, and the British were placed in position before Delhi. The heat was excessive and the troops were withdrawn to camp. The regimental casualties were 1 non-commissioned officer and 5 privates wounded.

There were daily skirmishes with the enemy, during one of which, on June 12th, Lieutenant Thomas Cadell, of the Regiment, won the Victoria Cross for having "brought in from amongst the enemy a wounded bugler belonging to the Regiment," and a second time proceeded with five men of Her Majesty's 75th Regiment under heavy fire and "brought in a man of the 75th who was most severely wounded."\*

On June 23rd, the hundredth anniversary of the Battle of Plassey, the four companies from Umballa under Captain W. D. Harris, marched into camp, as stated above, and directly after dinner were ordered to join the rest of the Regiment, who were engaged in the defence of the "Sabzi Mandi."

\* See Appendix "R," p. 226.

Though the companies had been marching all night and had covered twenty-two miles, they were all eagerness to start again, and soon found, half a mile ahead, a detachment of the Regiment. Captain Harris took command, and extending his men got in touch with some troops to his left ; the heat was intense, and many men were struck down by it. Just then some bugles sounded the "Advance," and those who were not completely done up climbed over the wall, behind which they were taking cover, but were met by a very sharp fire. The bugles still kept sounding the "Advance," and it was some time before they discovered that it was the sepoy buglers, who were trying by this means to entice the British into the open. The firing now got slack, and Harris retired his men about one hundred yards to the rear under cover of some trees at 1 p.m.

About 3 p.m. Rattray's Sikhs, headed by Colonel Showers, of the Regiment, passed on their way to occupy two serais covering the road. The sepoys then retired, and the body of Lieutenant Jackson who had been killed was brought in ; the other casualties of the Regiment being 1 non-commissioned officer and 6 men killed, and 3 non-commissioned officers and 16 men wounded.

General Harris says : " At dinner that night we had a full account of the day's proceedings, as the Staff were members of our mess, and I concluded that it had been rather of the Donnybrook Fair order of fight. After first getting under fire, everyone fought for himself, and ' wherever he saw a head, hit it.' I soon got *au courant* on all events that had taken place since I parted from Regimental Headquarters, and, from all accounts, things seemed to be in no little confusion. A few days before I joined the force, it was only a chance it had not been driven from its position. Late one evening some round shot came bowling into the rear of the camp ; it was found that a large force of the rebels had managed to form in our rear. The fight that ensued was unique. Every commanding officer acting on his own responsibility, and without orders, attacking that body of the enemy nearest him ; it was only the coming on of night that saved us from a catastrophe. . . . I now found myself second-in-command of my Regiment, which position I held during the whole of the subsequent operations. The Commanding Officer, Captain Boyd, and myself were the only captains of the Regiment present, but we had two captains of native regiments doing duty with us, and right good soldiers they were.

" The picquets were all more than a mile from our camp, and were relieved irregularly, so that we were obliged to make our arrangements for a lengthened stay ; our servants behaving very well, often bringing our food and clothes to the picquets under a smart fire. My own regiment was very favourably situated as regards its mess. We had a fine large tent, a good supply of liquor, a flock of sheep, and, what was of most consequence, an excellent *khansamah* (or butler). I was put in charge, and made arrangements to have constant supplies from Subathu, where we had a good stock.

"My first turn of picquet duty came a few days after I joined, and one morning I started after breakfast with eighty men, bag and baggage, for Sabzi Mandi picquet—two caravanserais right and left of the Grand Trunk road, equidistant between the city and camp. On nearing my post, heavy firing became audible, so we hurried on, and on reaching it found the party we were to relieve hotly engaged. Thousands of sepoys were round the place, and on the low hills, in the bushes; in fact, everywhere. I took command of the whole, and soon made my dispositions, one of which was to throw a breastwork across the road, between the two buildings (serais) occupied by our men. This I did with the men's bedding. Every two men have a large canvas bag, in which they pack their bedding and spare clothes when moving about; these put two deep on the ground, fastened together, and a third on the top of and between the two, made admirable shelters from the bullets. I was moving about from place to place, and several times took shelter behind this work, against which the balls rattled like hail. The men afterwards complained to the Commanding Officer of the damage done to their things by the bullets, thankless for the probable salvation of their lives.

"About 1 p.m. the rebels withdrew, as they generally did, to get their dinners. We immediately set to work to put our post in a state of defence. Towards evening the rebels came out again, but finding us so much better prepared soon left us alone, and at dusk I permitted the relieved party to return to camp.

"The rebels attacked us daily for the first month, but could make no impression on our post.

"One very heavy and determined attack was made on my picquet during this first turn, and I have cause to remember it. Several sepoys, captured as spies, had been executed, when one man was brought into the post, declared to be another sepoy, and said to have been caught on the road in front, where he was picking up ammunition. He was nearly naked, with a haversack over his shoulders, which contained a number of bullets and some tobacco. The men were clamorous to have him shot as a spy, but the fellow looked so unlike a sepoy, and was in such an abject state of terror, quite unable to answer a question, that I told the men he was no spy, and that he was to be let go. In a minute afterwards three shots were fired, and on my inquiring about them, was told that 'the spy had been shot.' I was very angry, and ordered the whole picquet to remain under arms while I inquired into the matter. Just then a Sikh sepoy came up to me with a paper which he said the wounded man had given him. It was a very small letter, addressed to the Commissioner from the Lieutenant-Governor at Agra. We had shot one of our own spies, who, at the risk of his life, was taking intelligence between our two principal civil authorities. I had the poor fellow put into a doolie, but he was unable to speak, being wounded in the neck and shoulder. I sent him into camp with a note to our surgeon, telling him what I knew about the man and the cause of his wound. On inquiry, I found that, as I had directed, the poor fellow had

been conducted to the gate of the serai and told to be off. His state of terror was such that he at once took to his heels, running towards the city. My sentries were not to blame, as the rebels, in all sorts of costumes, constantly crept up to within a few yards of our posts, and hiding themselves in a most wonderful manner, shot down our sentries, who were somewhat exposed, and then, when they saw a chance, bolting to more distant cover. However, the matter had to be explained, so I went up to the Officer Commanding the right attack, who read the letter, which was calling for assistance to the garrison at Agra, and took a very serious view of the affair. Next day the sepoys gave us a most vigorous attack, and, before it began, I received an official letter from the Adjutant, calling on me, by direction of the Chief, to explain how a faithful spy had been shot, etc. Before I could reply, and while thinking what I could say in excuse for my men, the attack was given, so I hastily scrawled a line to say that we were seriously engaged, but that I would reply when I had opportunity. This said opportunity did not occur for some days, when, during a lull, I went into camp to consult my commanding officer, who advised my not taking any further notice of it. I followed his counsel, and heard no more about it. The man recovered, and came to thank me for the trouble I had taken about him. I asked why he had not given me the paper when brought before me first. He said he did not know I was an officer, and that there being so many natives about (officer's servants and cook boys), had he shown them he was a spy his occupation was gone.

"During one of these days an officer of ours was wounded in a most extraordinary way and place. I found that many of my men were hit on arriving at the top of the stairs which led to my breastwork on the roof, and one day, standing at the doorway, a ball struck the door frame within two inches of my head; so I posted a sentry a little below the top of the staircase, with directions to order everyone to stoop as he came to the top, and run behind the breastwork. The officer alluded to refused to do this, and received a ball which went through his liver and out at his back, close to his spine. I wrote to the surgeon about him, and his reply was that his wound was mortal, but I am happy to say he was wrong. The recovery was a most wonderful one.

"On another occasion when I was in command of this picquet I was taken so unwell that I was obliged to ask to be relieved, and one of the captains 'doing duty' was sent down. As is usual, I went round the post to show and tell him all about it, and coming to this staircase explained the object of the sentry. I should mention that while firing was going on, all officers were busy directing their men, so I, as having no particular post, but general superintendence, was in the habit of going from one to the other, and taking with me spare ammunition, which was constantly called for. I told the captain all this, and advised him to be careful to stoop as he went up to the breastwork. He laughed, and said he did not think it at all a dignified position for an officer to assume before the men; and, acting on this, was brought into camp about

two hours afterwards severely wounded through the thigh and thumb, and placed *hors de combat* for the remainder of the siege.

"For some time we had been much annoyed by the sepoys squibbing at us all day from the orange gardens which surrounded our post ; so I determined to cut down the trees. This we did at night, calling for volunteers, and promising each man who worked an extra dram of grog. The men worked willingly, and officers set a good example. In two nights they had cleared a space of a hundred yards in front of our picquet, destroying thousands of beautiful fruit trees.

"We suffered much now from the badness of our arms, which were about five years old ; whereas the sepoys had new muskets, besides several thousand stand of Enfield rifles which were for the Delhi magazine. It was very fortunate for us that they had little or no Enfield ammunition. I have often seen my men pull their triggers two or three times before they could explode the cap. One day, when in camp, I was ordered to go with my company and disarm a company of a native regiment which had just come in with stores. I found their muskets were quite new, so quietly made my men exchange musket for musket, and they were afterwards much envied by the other companies. Several of my men had managed to procure Enfield rifles from the men of the 60th who were killed ; but the commanding officer of that regiment hearing of it, they were made to give them up.

"Our serai was constantly hit by round shot, but fired from such a distance that they seldom penetrated the walls. Shells and shrapnel did us more mischief, and on one occasion I was much hurt by a shrapnel ball hitting me on the foot while inside the serai. At first I thought someone had thrown a stone at me, but, turning round and seeing no one, concluded I was hit, and without knowing the extent of the injury, became very faint. I managed to hop to my hut in the corner, and after restoring my pluck with a mouthful of brandy, took off my boot and found that, although the ball had not broken the leather, yet the force of the blow had brought blood through the skin.

"After the first week we lost very few men at this post, as I insisted on the officers making their men keep under cover. When the rains commenced, the night work was very trying. I had to put sentries outside all along the front, and to visit them twice at least during the night. This visiting sentries was dangerous work, and their orders were to challenge once only, and if no reply was made, to fire. Sometimes they did not wait for a reply, and as I never went with any escort, for fear of drawing the attention both of the enemy and my own men, I was more than once shot at. The nights were very dark, the rain very heavy, and my men very bad shots.

"As soon as I was relieved from outpost duty, I made it a point of visiting our hospital to see how my wounded and sick men were getting on. Our surgeon was one of the best medical officers I ever knew, and a first-rate operator also ; this last qualification was in these times of the greatest consequence. He had, on our first arrival before Delhi, appropriated one of the



largest houses he could find for his hospital ; it was a fine building, with three very large rooms and many smaller ones, with a verandah all round. Here he managed to put sixty patients, and for the others pitched tents in the garden. The whole of the arrangements were admirable, and it was quite a pleasure to go into the different rooms and see how carefully the poor fellows were attended to. It is well known how very offensive the smell of wounds is, yet all his wards were as fresh as possible, as every wounded man had bags of charcoal in and under his bed. The charcoal was constantly burnt, and thereby sweetened and fresh for further use, and it quite took away all unpleasantness. The men looked cheerful, and their only wish seemed to be to get out again, and have another go at the 'pandies.'

"What struck me as most extraordinary in this hospital was, that though most of the patients were suffering from most fearfully painful wounds, yet I never heard so much as a groan. On one occasion I was present when a ball, which had imbedded itself in the shin-bone of the leg of one of my men, was extracted. It must have been fearful agony, as the lead had to be dug out of the bone, but the poor fellow never made a sound, only taking a very tight grip of two of his comrades' hands, one on each side ; and when the shapeless lump of lead was removed, he begged to have it given to him, and kept it under his pillow, showing it to everyone as a curiosity.

"No event worthy of record occurred during my turns of duty at this post. On one occasion I was visited by the brigadier-general of the day, Showers, who was one of the finest officers in the service, but a dreadful martinet. He was a regular fire-eater, and it was a joke amongst us that he was always in a heavenly temper when men were being killed. I reported that the rebels had brought a gun to bear upon us from the 'Selim Ghur' ; I had been obliged to order that no man was to show himself on the battery, as it invariably brought a shot on us. The general directed me to point the position of this gun, and, leaving his staff under cover, climbed on the battery, where I had to follow. We had not long to wait to ascertain where the gun was, for a shot from it struck the outside of the battery almost as soon as we showed ourselves. The general slowly drew out his glass, and adjusting it, took my shoulders for a rest, and had a long look at the fort, making quiet observations to me all the time on the weight of metal and distance of the gun. This lasted long enough to enable them to throw two more shots ; and just as we got under cover again, there came a shell which, had we still been there, would most probably have exploded on us. The general was the colonel of my regiment, but, in virtue of his seniority, had been posted to a brigade. He sat down in my room, or rather stall, and had a talk with the serjeants and men.

"That evening, August 11th, I received a note from the adjutant, ordering me to return at once to camp. This I did, and, getting to camp about twelve, was told that I was to take command of a party of 100 men of 'ours,' which was to form part of a force under the brigadier-general on duty (Showers),

who were to try and capture some light guns which had been posted under 'Ludlow Castle.' I received a list of the officers who were detailed for the duty, and I was told that a serjeant would call me at three, as the party was to be at the rendezvous at four. When in camp I shared a tent with my subaltern, Lieutenant Sherriff. He was so heavy a sleeper that I had always the greatest difficulty in getting him out of his bed to go to the parade, which took place at dawn every morning. The adjutant told me he had not been warned for this duty, but as my company was going he would go with it. On the serjeant calling me I roused him, and he at once started up, asking what was the matter, and on my telling him, commenced to dress. This struck me as so unusual that I joked him about it, and his apparent eagerness to be at the rebels. He did not reply to my badinage, but his silence did not then strike me as being anything peculiar. About an hour afterwards he was shot through the head, and died in a few days [on the 14th], never recovering consciousness. Had he any sort of presentiment of his approaching fate? As I did not notice him after we left camp, I cannot speak as to his subsequent behaviour; but I well call to mind an officer's death at the Battle of Goojerat, who had been the life and soul of our right wing companies at Chillianwallah, but was silent and very nervous all the morning on which he received the fatal bullet.

"We reached the rendezvous and found the force was composed, besides ourselves, of the 1st Bengal Fusiliers and the whole of Coke's Rifles. The party was under the command of our fighting brigadier, Showers, so we all expected mischief. We were formed up a short distance from the main entrance to Metcalf's garden; strict silence was enjoined, no pipes allowed. About half an hour before dawn we moved on; ourselves and Coke's Rifles going into the garden, the 1st Fusiliers moving up the road. We at once deployed, my men taking the right and skirting the wall. Coke, in virtue of his seniority, had taken command of our party, and rode alongside of me as I marched in front of my men. We had scarcely passed the line of our sentries when a volley of musketry poured into us. Luck, darkness, or the rebels' bad aim, saved us from losing a number of men; not a man was hit, the shot seeming to pass over our heads. Coke called out, 'Give 'em a cheer, boys, and charge.'" This we did, but saw no one, so stopped our advance. Some guns now opened, and shots were fired from the other side of the wall, to which a number of my men ran for shelter, accompanied by my subaltern, Lieutenant Sherriff, and it was then that he received his death wound. Their action was due to the habit they had got into of fighting behind cover, which, I think, always injures the morale of troops. Coming to the end of the garden, we found a gate leading to the road, and saw two guns, with a few sepoy trying to get them to move by pricking the horses with their swords. We captured the guns, killing the sepoy, one of whom, a native officer, had his head taken clean off by a sabre cut. We managed to turn the guns with their teams round towards camp, and, mounting some men and one officer on the horses, sent them into camp. It was now daybreak, and the rebels, getting

sight of us, were doing much mischief, killing and wounding several of my men. One poor little drummer-boy of my company was hit in the stomach. I saw the wound was mortal, but tried to cheer him up by saying he would be all right as soon as I could get a doctor. I can well remember the grateful look he gave me. But he did not live to reach camp.

" Having no orders, I put my men under shelter. The brigadier came up, dismounted, and, making my bugler hold his white charger, got with me under cover of the gateposts, the musket shots coming very thickly up the road, and the guns from the city walls sending an occasional round shot.

" While talking with him I suddenly noticed blood on the left breast of his coat, and on asking him if he were hit, he said, ' Yes,' and requested me to order up his horse, which he mounted, directing us to retire. Hope Grant came up and offered to conduct the retreat, but was cut rather short by our fire-eater, who, however, was obliged to get into a litter as soon as we were inside the line of our picquets.

" I marched my men back to the camp all alone, receiving quite an ovation, as a number of men and officers had seen us come in with the captured guns.

" Of course, when I got to our lines I had to relate all the business of the morning, walking up and down the main street till breakfast was announced ; but, going to my tent to take off my coat, I found my left arm so swollen that I could not do so, and had to have the sleeve ripped off. I found the arm from wrist to elbow quite black, and the doctor on examining it said the injury must have been caused by a round shot passing close to it.

" I had sent in my wounded seven, and after breakfast went to hospital to see them. My poor subaltern Sherriff was lying with his brains all amongst his hair, the ball having struck him low on the forehead, and coming out in the centre of his head. His eyes were closed and he breathed heavily. Our surgeon had ordered him to be fed and take stimulants, which he did freely. His limbs appeared to be paralysed, but he could move his fingers. I asked if he had a chance of his life, and the reply was, ' " Where there's life there's hope " ; but he had better die, as his future life must be one of insensibility.' We had a very clever German doctor doing duty with us, and I asked him if he thought the poor fellow was conscious. He said ' Yes,' and as an experiment told him in a quiet, determined tone of voice to move his left eyelid if he heard what was said. He immediately made a ghastly wink. He survived only a few hours.

" Up to the end of August we had no reinforcements, and, owing to the immense number of casualties and sickness, our small force was fast dwindling away. There was a lamentable deficiency of officers. The first reinforcement to arrive was a so-called ' flying column,' under a very highly spoken of officer, which had been engaged in disarming sepoy regiments.

" When the Mutiny broke out he was on the frontier, and being then high in civil authority was called into the Council of the chiefs, and, in concert

with the Commissioner, advised strong measures, and begged for some employment in a military capacity. He was so employed, which was distinctly unfair to his military compeers, but this was long the blot of the Indian Service. An officer qualified for, and obtained employment in, the Civil Service ; but directly there was chance of service in the field, applied to be released and rejoin his regiment, which he had not seen for years, and of which he knew nothing. Nevertheless, in virtue of his seniority perhaps, he took command, but was certain to supersede many who had long served with it. I will give a case in point which will, I think, illustrate how such an action was not only a hardship to the regimental officer, but a detriment to the service.

" At the commencement of the second Punjaub War, and after my regiment, then on its first campaign, had been in its first action, an officer joined who had been in civil employ for thirty years. He knew nothing whatever of his drill, and for his knowledge of 'interior economy' and orderly-room was entirely guided by his adjutant. So absurd was his want of knowledge of drill that when he had the regiment for a little exercise, the men could not be prevented from laughing. His words of command were those of thirty years ago, and he literally could not order a single movement without the adjutant to 'coach' him. On the occasion of the first action he led us into, oddly enough his ignorance of drill saved the regiment from catastrophe. At Chillianwalla the Regiment, after driving the Sikhs from its front, found them re-formed in its rear, having passed through a gap in the line caused by the 'retreat' of the cavalry. Under the circumstances, a martinet would have ordered the regiment to perform the intricate parade movement known as 'changing front on the centre,' in which the line is broken up, each company counter-marching, and the whole getting into apparent confusion. Our commanding officer, as brave a fellow as ever drew sword, seeing the enemy behind him, at once gave the word to face about, when the line charged at once, backwards, as it were, or, in military phraseology, 'with its rear rank in front.'

" Parties of soldiers were now daily sent to the Engineer's park to be instructed in escalading, filling sand-bags, fascines, etc., and I think it was on the 8th we broke ground. The idea was a very bold one, viz., to erect and arm batteries in the open, without approaches, and without any attempt to silence the opposing guns.

" I was ordered one evening to take a party of 280 strong to the gate of Metcalf's garden, near which we had captured the two guns, and await orders from the Engineers. We had our arms, and the men carried shovels and picks also. We were soon joined by the Engineer, who, deprecating all noise, requested me to assemble the officers, and he would show them where to take their men. The night was very dark, and he had no little difficulty in finding the tapes, but when found we could distinctly see our work. We went back to our men, and, enjoining strict silence and no pipes, marched them down, piled arms, told off a small party to cover our work in case of attack,

and then commenced with a will. The ground was hard, and consequently a good deal of noise was made with the spades and picks, and it was strange the enemy did not find us. That they suspected something was going on was apparent, as they kept throwing an occasional round of grape, but never in the right direction. They, however, managed to find us with their musketry, or perhaps it was only haphazard firing, but several men were hit. We worked for four hours, and then were relieved by a fresh party of the 1st Fusiliers. The battery was not completed that night, and at daybreak our parties were withdrawn. The enemy might now have destroyed all our work, but made no attempt. The next night the working parties were out again, and the batteries finished and armed.

"Early in the morning on which these batteries were to open, I was sent down with 100 men to cover the mortar battery. It was a scene of tremendous excitement, and the ball opened with a salvo from the breaching battery. It was a splendid sight and immense fun to watch the walls crumbling away. The enemy seemed to be disheartened, and only returned an occasional shot, which did little damage, but getting suspicious about the mortar battery, they contrived to find its range with a heavy gun or two in the Selimghur. I lost several men and two serjeants, and was very nearly extended myself, a heavy shot striking the ground close to my feet, covering me with dust, and quite upsetting my nerves. We could get no cover from these guns, as they were above us, and to our flank.

"Immediately to the right of the battery I found a natural protection from any direct fire, in the shape of a bank of rock protected by brushwood. Behind this I distributed my men, giving them what instruction I could in providing themselves with shade from the sun. I made for myself a little nest close to the battery, but quite hidden; into this I put our boxes of spare ammunition, and on these I made my bed. At the time I never thought of it, but I ran a double danger, for had a shot hit these boxes, they would have exploded.

"On the afternoon of the 13th I received a note from our Commanding Officer telling me that there had been a council of war, and that the assault was to be given next morning; our Regiment was to go at the breach at the water bastion, the 75th to take the main breach. My party, reinforced by Rothney's Sikhs, was to form the reserve of our brigade."

In consequence of the continual efforts of the enemy to drive the British from the Metcalf picquet, a force consisting of a left attack, under Major Coke, of 100 men from each of the Regiment and Her Majesty's 75th Regiment, and 250 of the 1st Punjab Rifles, and a right attack, under Major Jacob, of 150 men of the 1st Bengal European Fusiliers, was ordered to move forward and sweep the gardens, etc., in front of their position, and to capture any guns they might find in that direction. The troops advanced in profound silence at dawn on August 12th, and reached the enemy's position completely surprising them; a volley of musketry followed by a bayonet charge, and the enemy fled in confusion, leaving four field guns, ammunition, horses, etc.,

behind them. Regimental casualties were :—Lieutenant D. F. Sherriff, mortally wounded, died on the 14th, 1 non-commissioned officer, and 1 private killed, 7 privates wounded.

The assault on Delhi was settled for September 14th, the Army being divided for the attack into five columns ; the Regiment being in the second column, under Brigadier W. Jones, C.B., which consisted of the Regiment (230 rank and file) under Captain Boyd, Her Majesty's 8th Regiment (250) under Colonel Greathead, and the 4th Sikh Infantry (350). This column was "to storm the breach in the water bastion," or left breach. It was made up of a storming party, supports and reserve ; the former consisted of 75 men of Her Majesty's 8th Regiment, and 75 men of the Regiment under Captain Hay (late 60th Native Infantry), the supports of 175 men of the 8th Regiment, 75 men of the Regiment, and 50 men of the 4th Sikh Infantry. The advance commenced shortly after daybreak, the troops being met by a very severe fire, but taking ground to the right and charging forward, they gained the ramparts without any great opposition, and the Water Gate Bastion was carried.

Ladder parties of seventy men from each regiment had been ordered to go in advance and plant ladders to enable the stormers to climb up the other side of the ditch. The crowd of men, some 2,000, was so great inside the Cashmere Gate that there was considerable confusion, but eventually the second column captured many of the buildings in the vicinity of the "Main Guard" and the church, and the Commanding Officer, having collected his men, took them round in rear of the church and marched them towards the Moree Bastion along a very narrow lane with the city wall on their right hand. On arriving at the bastion it was found that the gunners had run away, and the Regiment pressed on to the Cabul Gate without opposition, where it was ordered to hold what they had got and remain where they were ; picquets were thrown out in commanding positions along the right and left of the Jumna Canal.

We will now quote from General Harris's "Siege of Delhi."

"I well remember, about this time, seeing our Brigadier, whom I now met for the first time. I do not know if it was he who had directed our movement, but he approved of it, and remained with us until Nicholson came up, who, in an excited manner, said he was going on to the Lahore Gate, and tried to get a portion of his force together, viz., the first column.

"He had with him the headquarters and several officers of the 1st Bengal Fusiliers, but not many men ; but with them he started. The officers were in front, three abreast (which was as many as the lane would allow of), and himself on the wall. He did not ask our support, nor did we anticipate any opposition. Our men were all about, sitting in what space they could get, and smoking.

"Suddenly there were two shots from guns heard from the direction of the lane, then a scattered fire of musketry, and then a hurried stampede of

men and officers, many wounded. Nicholson himself, looking very pale, passed us, assisted by two men, but did not speak. Then came Greville, of the 1st Bengal Europeans, his arm in a sling, looking very black, and asking our Commanding Officer why he did not support them. Next came young Speke, apparently badly hit but speaking coherently.

"One of our officers asked to be allowed to take a party down the lane, but was refused. He, however, got some men together and started, but nearly the whole party was wounded, himself dangerously, our serjeant-major and two colour-serjeants seriously.

"I saw the officer commanding the 1st Fusiliers, Major Jacob, under a wall dying, but before I could get to him the rebels appeared in numbers on the tops of the houses, led on by one of the native officers in his native dress, topped by his regimentals, and in his hands a sword and shield. He looked a strange object."

Some of the Regiment were now moved into the dry bed of the canal which they lined, and opening fire drove the enemy off; the wounded were collected and placed for safety in a small house; no litters or doctor came up till late in the day, when as many as possible were moved, whilst a small party of 30 Europeans and 30 Sikhs, under Captain Harris, established a post 200 yards distant commanding the road. The enemy's fire slackened towards evening, and the stragglers began to drop in. The quartermaster-serjeant had, with great pluck, managed to bring up the spare ammunition and grog. To do this he had to pass through a part of the city still occupied by the rebels with only a corporal's party, and great were the cheers which greeted them. The day had been very hot, with a bright sun, which suddenly became overclouded in a peculiar manner, when it was discovered that there was an eclipse actually going on.

General Harris says:—"We had hard work in burying the dead all round, for their bodies would have caused much sickness. This was usually done by knocking down the houses on the piles of corpses. Our officers began to run short of supplies, so on the third day I asked for and obtained leave to go into camp. It was a most interesting trip. I rode my hill pony, and followed the line of our advance as far as the Cashmir Gate, meeting several parties of soldiers, English and native, evidently on looting excursions.

"There was a strong guard at the gate, which passed everyone out, after searching them, but let no natives in, unless they were officers' servants with passes for their masters. The road into camp, which for months had been deserted, except by pickets moving to and fro, was alive with men. The outposts were deserted like the camp. Regiments leaving their camps to take part in the assault had left a weak guard, composed of sickly men.

"We ourselves left our first cornet player behind, much to his disgust, he, of course, believing it was his regular tour for duty; but our Adjutant managed it all, as we could not afford to lose his services with the band. The officer for duty at the camp was selected as being so very young and thin that,

as our Commanding Officer said, the wind of a round shot would have blown him to bits.

"Our Brigadier was fretting like a caged lion, being incapacitated from taking any part in our present operations by a former wound. I was the first officer untouched he had seen from the front, and our present position.

"I lastly visited the hospital, which was simply crammed, more than one half of the Regiment being either wounded or sick. It was in beautiful order, and all the men spoke in the highest praise of the kindness and skill of Dr Hare, our surgeon, to which I am able from personal experience to add my testimony. During the whole of the siege operations he lived in the hospital, never leaving, except for exercise or his meals at mess.

"Next morning, the 21st, we commenced our final advance, which before noon ended in the total expulsion of the rebels from the city and palace. The muster took place just before dawn. I have no idea as to the composition of the party, except that Green's Sikhs were with us. We were led by the Engineers through and over the tops of houses, up and down flights of steps in single file, debouching about daybreak at the entrance of the Burn Bastion, which was void of defenders, but there were several heavy guns and plenty of ammunition, these completely commanded the Lahore Gate. As this was the gate we were going to hold, we made for it. On arriving at the gate, we first mounted a guard, and then went to get our men under cover, which we did in a large native house.

"The mess opened, and each officer had a small room, splendidly set up with beautiful Mirzapoor carpets and rugs. Our only duty was to guard the Lahore Gate, which was rather fun, as we had to overhaul all who wanted to get out of the city, and in doing so discovered many rebels in disguise, and took quantities of plunder which was being smuggled out, and deposited it with the prize agents.

"On the afternoon of the first day after my return, a captain's guard was wanted by the civilians. I was sent, and in the garden of a house called 'the Begum's Koti,' found the Commissioner and Hodson, who made over to my charge the person of the 'Great Moghul.' It was a great responsibility, as the place wherein I was to keep him was a small garden with plenty of underwood, where desperate men could lay concealed close to my sentries.

"I asked the Commissioner for orders, and was told that my sentries were never to lose sight of their prisoner, and in the event of an attempt at a rescue they were to make sure that he did not escape. I now, for the first time, saw the man of whom I had latterly heard so much. He was a little spare fellow with a Jewish face, rather good eyes, a thin grey beard, evidently very decrepit, and dressed in very dirty white clothes. He was seated on a small couch leaning against pillows. Some three or four dirty women attended



on him, and kept him well supplied with chewing materials, which caused him to keep one of them who held a spittoon actively employed. His bed was in the centre of a shallow, dry tank, about six or eight yards square, at the edge of which we posted two sentries, to whom I myself gave orders about the safe custody of the prisoner, and satisfied myself that they understood them."

The next morning the civil authorities took charge of the prisoner, and the guard was ordered to rejoin the Regiment.

The Regiment was shortly afterwards moved to a large house half-way between the Lahore and Turkoman Gates, and thence to another near the church, to enable the officers to get the men again in order. At dawn on the 16th the magazine was stormed and taken, and Kissengunge was evacuated by the enemy. During the 17th and 18th further advances were made; on the evening of the 19th the Burn Bastion was surprised and captured, and early next morning the Lahore Gate and Garstin Bastion were likewise taken and held, and the Delhi Gate also; the whole city was now entirely in our hands. The casualties on September 14th were:—Captain J. C. Hay (60th Native Infantry, attached) and Lieutenant C. H. F. Gambier (38th Native Infantry, attached), both dangerously wounded; Lieutenant A. Elderton, severely wounded; Lieutenant T. N. Walker (60th Native Infantry, attached), wounded slightly; killed, 2 non-commissioned officers, 25 privates; wounded, 5 non-commissioned officers, and 45 privates.

The casualties from September 15th to 20th were—killed, 2 non-commissioned officers, 14 privates; wounded, 1 non-commissioned officer, 2 privates. The effective strength of all ranks on September 11th, 1857, was 370. The return of killed, wounded and missing from May 30th to September 20th was:—Killed, 4 officers, 7 non-commissioned officers, 72 privates; wounded, 6 officers, 11 non-commissioned officers, 145 privates; total, 245.

The troops had shown the greatest courage and constancy throughout the whole siege; it was the hottest season of the year; for the first five weeks every effort was necessary, not to take Delhi, but to hold the position they had already gained. Cholera broke out, and discouraging reports were received as regards the other parts of the country, but in spite of all, the troops in broad daylight stormed a place defended by greatly superior forces, crossed a ditch twenty-four feet deep, and then had to begin fresh operations for the reduction of the town.

Brigadier-General Showers having tired out one of the flying columns, brought it back and applied for another, which was given him in the beginning of October, with instructions to clear the districts to the west and south-west of Delhi. The force was composed of the Regiment, 2nd Gurkhas, a detachment of the Carabineers, Guides Cavalry, and Hodson's Horse, and a field

battery. Its first destination was the Fort of Jagger. On passing Balamghur the Raja submitted ; the force marched on through the Riwari District and the Fort overlooking the town of Riwari was taken without opposition. Jagger was reached next and occupied, the Nawab submitting on the 18th. The still stronger Fort of Kaumaund, armed with fourteen guns, and containing five lakhs of rupees, surrendered on the 19th, and Showers, being then on the border of the desert, returned to Delhi. The usual procedure being, camp struck and animals loaded at 11 p.m., march at midnight, arriving at a town or village just before daylight ; at daylight the cavalry advanced, and the rebels ran away, being well cut up *en route*. After two or three hours' weary waiting, Hodson would rejoin the column, looking the picture of good humour, and saying that his men had been "accounting" for the sepoys nicely. He himself never seemed to get into a perspiration, but his beautiful little Arab seemed as if he had been galloping, and Hodson's right gauntlet was generally moist and red. He always led his men, using a hogspear, with which he prodded the runaways, leaving them to be dispatched by his followers.

At all the towns or villages which the troops entered guards were placed to prevent pillage ; and the inhabitants soon came back to their houses on finding there was no harm being done.

The Regiment returned to Delhi, in December, taking up its quarters in the Grand Square. There was little or no duty to do, and very few men to do it with, though there were officers in plenty.

The Regiment, which remained on in occupation of the palaces\*, etc., in Delhi, was inspected on April 7th, 1858, by Lord Clyde, Commander-in-Chief. His Excellency observed that he was very glad to see the Regiment looking so neat and well, that he knew the 2nd Fusiliers, and their step of old, having marched with them, and fought by their side during the last Punjab campaign, that the corps was not composed of young and inexperienced soldiers, but had been engaged year after year in all the arduous fights in Upper India and in Pegu, and had ever been known by its gallantry in the field, and good conduct in quarters, that none had done better service at the Siege of Delhi, though some others had been more spoken of.

When the Regiment was sent to occupy the Palace two articles of great historic interest were found there, viz., the large Crystal Throne which was sent to Her Majesty Queen Victoria, who never received it, and its history from the date of its despatch is a mystery, and the King's Praying Stone of black marble, found in the Moti Musjid which was used as the Adjutant's Office and Orderly-room.

The Prize Committee hesitated so long over the disposal of the latter that the Regimental Committee of the 2nd Fusiliers relieved them of the

\* When Delhi fell in September the Regiment was sent to occupy the Palace, the men in the Dewaw-i-Am or Public Hall, and Zenana, and the officers in various out-buildings.

difficulty by annexing it. Carvers and gilders were employed to cut upon it the names of those of the Regiment who had fallen in action.

The marble slab measured 5 feet by 3 feet 4 inches and was built into one of the walls of Skinner's Church (now St. James's Church), Delhi, when the church was repaired after the siege. The slab was dedicated with full ceremony as a memorial for those who had fallen, by the Chaplain of the Delhi Army, the Rev. M. Rotton.

Fifty-four years after, when the church was revisited by one of the survivors of the Regiment and Siege, it was found that an organ had been built in front of and close up to the memorial entirely obscuring it.

After a long correspondence with the authorities and with the helpful assistance of the Rev. E. S. Thomas, C.F., the organ was removed and the memorial restored to view 1911-12.

Lord Ellenborough had recommended, as far back as 1852, that the Crown should take over the government of India from the Company, and the coming<sup>a</sup> of the Mutiny started the British Government into action.

Her Majesty Queen Victoria signed, on August 2nd, 1858, the Act of Parliament, "for the better government of British India," which transferred the powers and function of the Company to the Crown, and on November 1st the proclamation of this was published at Calcutta, Madras, Bombay, Delhi, etc., and translated into all the languages of India, and transmitted to the native princes.

One of the provisions of the Act was that the military services of the Company should be under the same obligation to serve Her Majesty the Queen as they had been to serve the Company; this caused a very great deal of discontent; the men felt that they were entitled to a bounty on re-enlistment, or to discharge, as they were not liable to transfer without their own consent.

In the case of the Regiment, however, and the 1st Bengal Fusiliers, there was very little irritation, and there was no sign of any insubordination, though the period of waiting before the amalgamation was completed was naturally very trying.

Under the Royal Warrant the amalgamation of the Indian with the British Army was effected; the officers and men of the Indian European regiments being invited to volunteer for general service. The commissioned officers were guaranteed all the retiring and other privileges, which they held under the Company, the rank and file being offered a bounty for volunteering and to count their former service for pension.

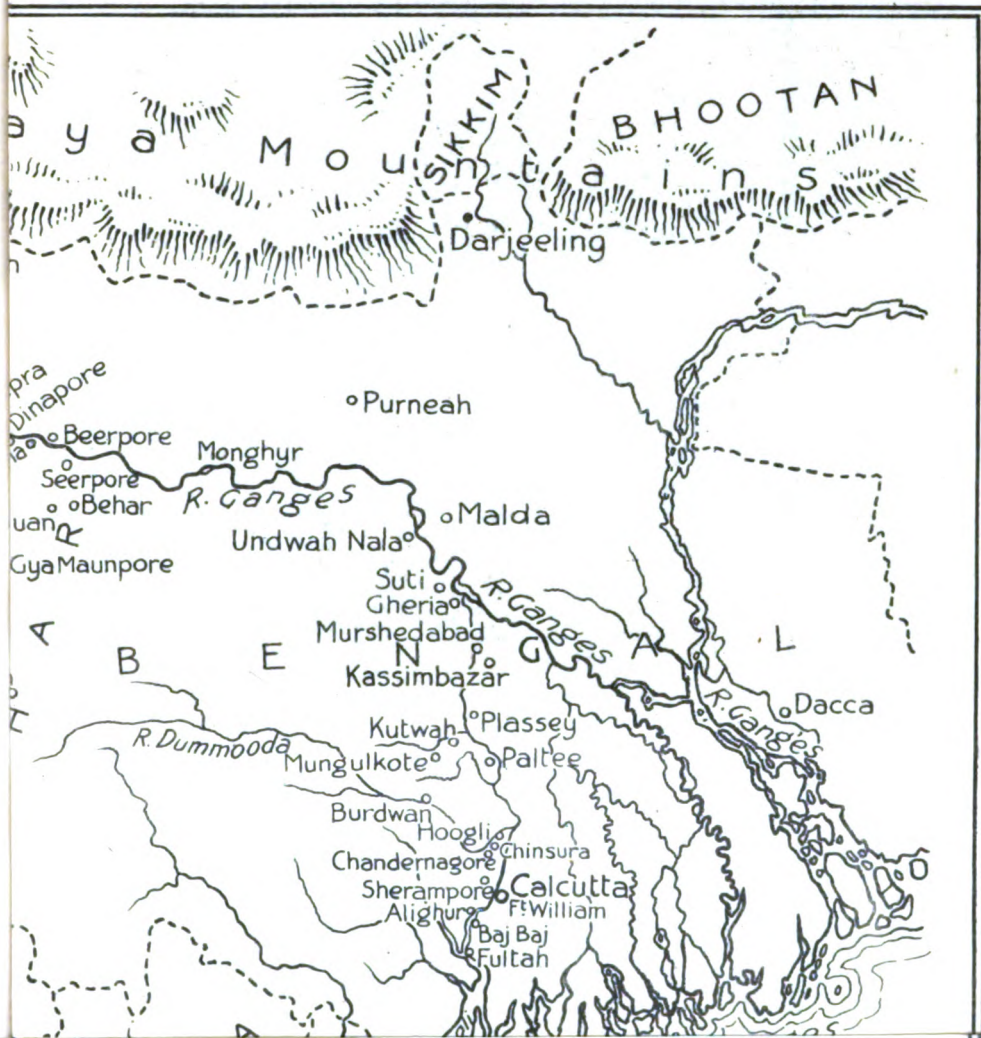
Under G.G.O. No. 883 of June 20th, 1859, 7 serjeants, 14 corporals, and 333 privates obtained their discharge. Two years' service was granted to all of the late army who did not take their discharge.

The following extract from a report by Brigadier-General Hugh Troop, commanding at Delhi, will be read with interest:—" . . . The period was one of the utmost anxiety, but I derived in this trying time the greatest comfort and confidence from the system of discipline that obtained in the 2nd Bengal









# INDIA (North East)

— Scale —  
English Miles



Approximate boundaries shown  
are those prior to 1792

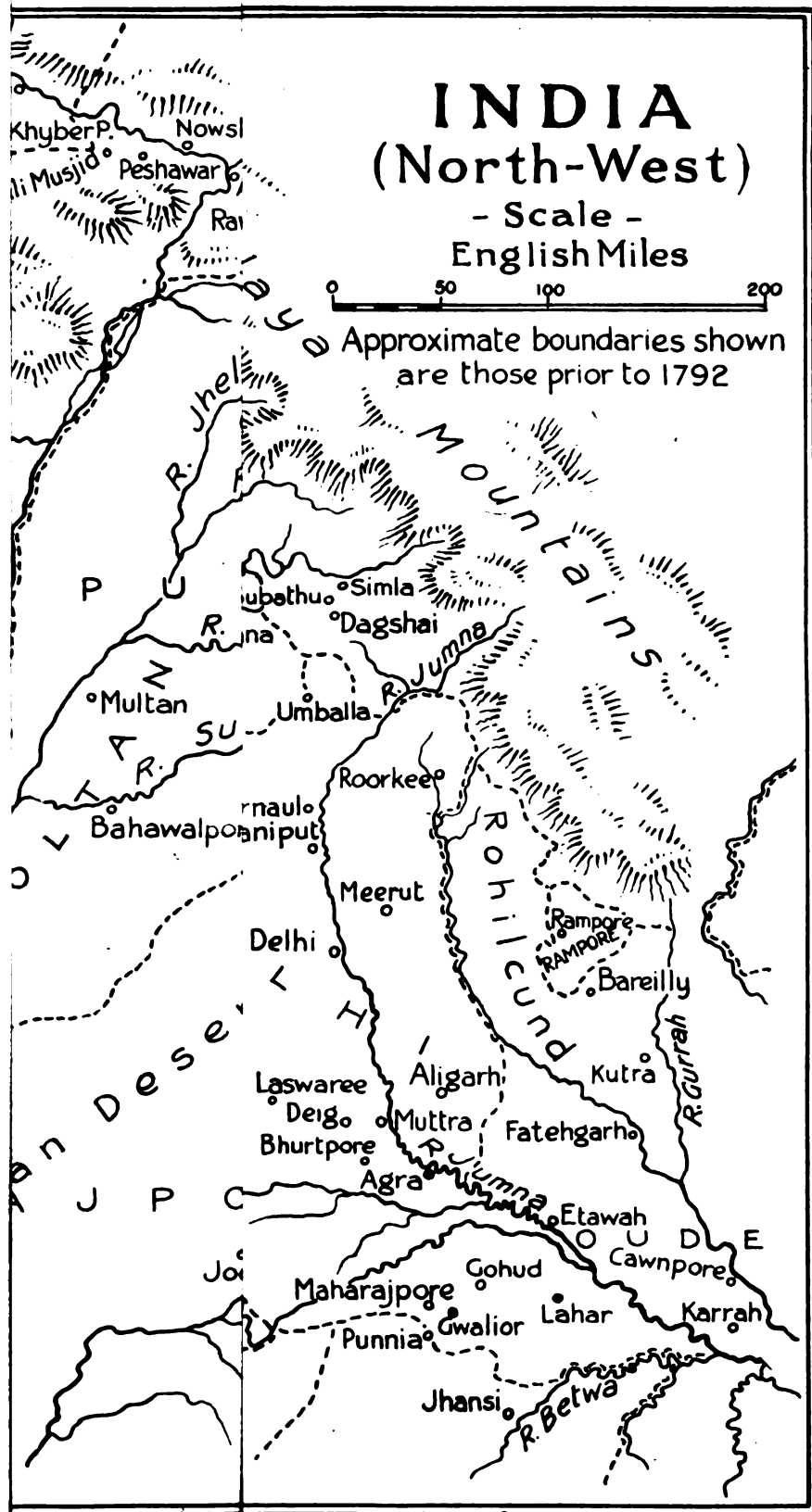


# INDIA (North-West)

- Scale -  
English Miles

0 50 100 200

Approximate boundaries shown  
are those prior to 1792







Fusiliers, for so patent was the good conduct of this Regiment that it was deservedly exempt from the suspicion that was at the time attached to the most part of the local European troops in India, and they preserved the same good conduct to the port of embarkation and during their voyage to Europe\* . . . and in the whole course of my service of forty years I never saw these maxims more vividly illustrated, under such trying circumstances, as I did in the 2nd Bengal Fusiliers in the summer of 1859."

On March 10th, 1860, the Regiment left Delhi and marched to Roorkee, arriving on the 19th. Lieut.-Colonel Swatman assumed command of the Regiment, *vice* Lieut.-Colonel Sherwill on leave to England.

\* This refers, of course, to those men who took their discharge.



*The Punjab Medal  
1848-9*



## APPENDICES

## APPENDICES

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### *Appendix "A."*

#### BENGAL MUSTER ROLL.

(*But in "Bombay" Muster Rolls, Vol. I, folio 129.*)

CAPTAIN HENRY DELLEBAR'S MUSTER ROLL FOR THE MONTHS OF AUGUST,  
SEPTEMBER, AND OCTOBER, 1716. MUSTERED NOVEMBER 22ND, 1716.

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Lieutenants	Henry Dellebar	...	...	...	35 rupees
	Geo. Borlace	...	...	...	35 "
Ensign	Theo. Gammon	...	...	...	24 "
Gentleman of Arms	Jno. Wyndham	...	...	...	20 "
Marshall	Wm. Taylor	...	...	...	20 "
Serjts	Robert Fox	...	...	...	20 "
	Mathew Hanson	...	...	...	20 "
	Andrew Kennedy	...	...	...	20 "
	Ditlof Mayor	...	...	...	20 "
Corporalls	Robert Eley	...	...	...	13 "
	Hans. Hanson	...	...	...	13 "
	Thos. Durance	...	...	...	13 "
	Wm. Taylor	...	...	...	13 "
Drums	Martin Ferson	...	...	...	13 "
	Thos. Brown	...	...	...	13 "
	Peter Huggins	...	...	...	13 "
	Anth. Corea	...	...	...	13 "
Europeans	53 names	...	...	...	10 "
Rounders	2 "	...	...	...	6 "
Portuguese	30 "	...	...	...	5 "

[Sig.] HENRY DELLEBAR

*On command at Cossimbazar—*

Corporal Thos. Weston.  
Europeans 10 names  
Black soldiers 4 "

Total, 117.

## BENGAL MUSTER ROLLS.

*(But in "Bombay" Muster Rolls, Vol. I, folio 131.)*CAPTAIN RICHARD HUNT'S MUSTER ROLL FOR THE MONTHS OF AUGUST,  
SEPTEMBER, AND OCTOBER, 1716. MUSTERED NOVEMBER 24TH, 1716.

Lieutenant	Richard Hunt
Ensign	John Goodwin
Serjts.	John Gulielmus
	Mevis Vanderchivel
	Jacob Mussimonie
	Saml. Bartler
Corporalls	Arno. Vanderpole
	Geo. Styant
	Saml. Fyms
	Alex. Birch
	Thos. Harding
	Matt. Moore
Drums	Abraham Tarbose
	Jno. Francisco
	Sebast. de Rosa
	Geo. Haddock
Europeans	60 names
Rounders	2 "
Portuguese	35 "

*On command at Cossimbazar—*

Lieut.	Nich. Rowe	
Serjt.	Evert. Clandorpe	(Sgd) RICHD. HUNT.
Drum	Jno. Leuce	
Europeans	9 names	
Portuguese	3 "	

Total, 128.

*Appendix "B."*

## COLONEL FRANCIS FORDE

Colonel Francis Forde was the second son of Matthew Forde of Seaforde, co. Down, M.P. for Downpatrick, and Anne, daughter of William Brownlow of Lurgan. He obtained a commission as Ensign in His Majesty's 39th Foot (now 1st Battalion Dorset Regiment); Captain, April 30th, 1746. Landed in India in September, 1754, with the Regiment, under Colonel Adlercron. Major, November 13th, 1755.

On the death of Major Kilpatrick on October 15th, 1757, Clive recommended Forde for the command in Bengal. During his short and brilliant career he obtained three noted victories: Condore, December 9th, 1758; Masulipatam, April 8th, 1759; and Badara, November 25th, 1759; all of which are emblazoned on the colours of The Royal Munster Fusiliers.

The Select Committee at Calcutta invited Major Forde, in a letter dated November 14th, 1757, to take up command of their forces, and he arrived in Calcutta by the middle of February, 1758, and took his seat on the Board as the third member of the Council. On June 26th, 1758, Clive was appointed Governor and President of the Council, and Forde, in a letter to him dated Sydabad, June 27th, says: ". . . I am extremely oblig'd to you for the kind Regard you have always shewn for my Interest and much more for the favourable Opinion you entertain for my Capacity as an Officer, . . . and when the officer who commands the troops is supported by the Governor, I think Military Affairs must goe right. . . . We have now about seven hundred Europeans exclusive of Serjeants and Corporals. What do you think of adding three hundred Topasses to them and making two battalions? . . . We may pick out some Orders proper to be given out as Standing Orders. I have some by me out of which we may extract, what are proper for this Country. . . ."

In the middle of 1758 a request was received from Madras for help against the expected attack by the French, under Comte de Lally, and it was decided that the help should take the form of an expedition under Colonel Forde to the Northern Circars, and not to Madras. The forces embarked, Forde being on board the *Hardwicke*, and left the Hoogli at the beginning of October, this being the first occasion on which Bengal sepoys were sent on active service by sea. On the 20th Forde landed at Vizagapatam under a salute of fifteen guns.

The troops left Vizagapatam on November 1st and joined the forces of the Rajah of Vizianagram, Anandraz Gajapati, and on December 6th occupied the village of Chambol; on the 7th the rival forces met near the village of Condore, and after a sharp but short encounter the French, under the Marquis de Conflans, were forced back towards their camp, and this was shortly afterwards taken.

The end of January found Forde's troops at Peddapore, and Masulipatam was reached on March 6th. Forde was by now in a serious position; he had in front a formidable fortress to capture; his supplies, funds and ammunition were practically exhausted; his retreat was blocked by the French "Corps of Observation," and Salabat Jang, Subahdar of the Deccan, was advancing from Hyderabad with an army of 35,000 men; but, as Malleson says, "his conduct stands out in brilliant example to all men beset with difficulties. He faced them with coolness; he met them with a calm determination to conquer them."

The attack and capture of Masulipatam is described in the text of the Records. As a result, Salabat Jang concluded a treaty with Colonel Forde, by which he ceded Masulipatam and eight districts in its vicinity.

Clive says of this, in a letter of August 26th, 1759: "His taking of such a place as Masulipatam, with a garrison within superior to the force which attacked it, is, I think, one of those extraordinary actions which we seldom hear of in these modern times, and must give him great honour when it comes to be known at home."

Almost immediately after the capture of Masulipatam news arrived that the Court of Directors had refused to confirm Clive's nomination of Forde to the command in Bengal, and that he was to be superseded by Lieut.-Colonel Eyre Coote, who had been his junior in Adlercron's regiment. Forde remained at Masulipatam till October 15th, when he embarked for Calcutta.

About this time rumours were current that the Dutch were preparing to dispute the British power in Bengal, and a strong Dutch force arrived in the River Hoogli and commenced hostilities. On the arrival of Colonel Forde and Captain Knox from the campaign in the Northern Circars, Clive at once asked Forde to take command and prevent a junction between the Dutch at Chinsurah and the newly-arrived force from Batavia.

On November 23rd the Dutch left Chinsurah and occupied Chandernagore. Forde at once attacked them and drove them back into their own territory. To meet the main Dutch army, Forde selected a strong position near the village of Badara, and on their arrival on November 25th, 1759, completely routed them in about an hour. Forde had at Clive's earnest request undertaken this campaign, although in a very bad state of health. Nothing is known as to when Forde returned to England, but it is supposed that he and Clive went home together when the latter left Calcutta on the *Royal George* on February 25th, 1760.

Forde's military career now ceased; he had resigned his commission in the King's service in order to serve the Company which dismissed him.

In 1769 Colonel Forde, Mr. Vansittart and Mr. Scrafton were appointed as Supervisors to inquire into the abuses and mismanagement which had disgraced the Company's rule in India; Forde accepted the appointment in a letter dated June 20th, from Johnstown, near Maynooth.

The Supervisors left London for Portsmouth on September 21st, and embarked on the *Aurora* for India; the vessel arrived at Madeira on October 11th, and the Cape on December 6th. Leaving on the 27th, it was never heard of again, having foundered at sea with all hands.

Thus ended the career of Colonel Forde, who has been well described as "Lord Clive's right-hand man." Malleon says of him: "In spite of neglect, his name has descended to this generation, and it will descend to posterity as the name of a great Englishman; of one who nobly upheld the honour of his country, and who, by the display of a calm and cool courage, aided most materially in laying the foundation of the British Empire in India."

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### Appendix "C."

#### COLONEL ALEXANDER CHAMPION

Colonel Alexander Champion was appointed Captain, September 1st, 1758, and served in the campaigns of 1760 and 1761 under Lieutenant-Colonel Caillaud and Major Carnac; he was Brigade-Major to Major Adams at the Battle of Geriah, July 26th, 1763, and led the first column to the assault on Patna, November 6th, when he was severely wounded. Major Irving died of wounds, and Champion succeeded to the majority on November 6th.



By March, 1764, he had recovered, and joined the army as second-in-command under Major Carnac, and commanded a detachment sent across the Ganges in September. On October 9th he surprised the enemy, who fled, thus enabling Munro to cross the river unopposed. His division was the advanced guard in the move on Buxar, and the right division during the Battle of Buxar, where he showed great gallantry and dash.

Shortly afterwards Major Champion was appointed to the command of two companies of European recruits and two battalions of sepoys stationed in the provinces of Midnapore and Jellasure. He was promoted Lieutenant-Colonel, November 4th, 1766, and Colonel, August 8th, 1770.

Colonel Champion succeeded Sir Robert Baker as Commander-in-Chief of the Bengal Army in January, 1773, and took command of a force, which included the 2nd Bengal European Regiment, sent to assist the King of Oudh against the Rohillas, and on April 23rd, St. George's Day, he defeated them utterly at the Battle of Kutra. He retired at the end of the same year, being succeeded by Lieutenant-General Sir John Clavering, and on his return to England resided at Bath for many years.

In the Indian Record Series, "Bengal 1756-57," the name "Captain Alexander Champion" of the ship *Chance* appears. This ship with two others helped in the defence of Calcutta, 11th June, 1756, and Captain Alexander Champion's name again appears in the list of those "Volunteers" who left Fort William on the 18th and 19th June, and reached the ships at Fulta. It seems reasonable to presume that this was the same person as the Captain Alexander Champion who was gazetted as Captain in the Regiment, 1st September, 1758, as many of these Volunteers took service in the Company's Army.

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### *Appendix "D."*

#### MAJOR-GENERAL CLAUDE MARTIN.

Major-General Claude Martin, son of a silk manufacturer at Lyons, born January 4th, 1735, enlisted in the French Army at an early age, and was removed from the infantry to the cavalry for his good conduct; was appointed a trooper in the Comte de Lally's bodyguard, a small body of men selected to accompany him in 1751 to Pondicherry, of which place he had been appointed Governor.

Lally, on arriving in India, used his power in such an offensive manner that many of his officers resigned the service, but he still continued his methods, and when the town was besieged by the British great numbers of men deserted, and at last his own bodyguard went over in a body to the British, including Martin, on May 9th, 1760.

Monsieur Martin, having shown his ability on many occasions, obtained permission, on the return of the army to Madras, to raise a company of Rangers from amongst the French prisoners, and was appointed to the command.

Shortly afterwards he was ordered to proceed to Bengal with his company, but the ship, the *Fatteh Islam*, on which he sailed with Ensign Bastide, 1 surgeon, 4 volunteers, 4 serjeants, and 106 rank and file, as well as a portion of the 84th Regiment, sprung a leak on August 27th, the day after sailing, and sank the following day; only about 25 Europeans saved themselves in the long boat, and, landing on September 2nd near Point Palmiras, were imprisoned by the local raja. Martin did not arrive at Calcutta till November, after numerous hardships.

On arrival at Calcutta he and his company were attached to the Regiment, his commission as Ensign in the Company's service being dated September 17th, 1763.

During the mutiny in the Bengal Army in February, 1764, Martin did good service by obtaining valuable information from the French section, who secretly offered him the command of the proposed rebel army. He was promoted Lieutenant April 18th, 1764, and Captain July 30th, 1766. He was employed in the building of the new Fort William, and afterwards on the survey of North-East Bengal, being an able draughtsman; from there he was sent to Oude.

Whilst there he amused himself with several branches of mechanics and gunnery. The Nawab was so impressed by his work that he obtained permission from the Governor and Council to appoint him superintendent of his artillery park and arsenal at Lucknow.

Martin was so well satisfied that he asked and obtained permission from the authorities to relinquish his pay and allowances in the Company's service on condition of his being allowed to retain his rank. He became Major, September 11th, 1779; Lieutenant-Colonel, February 21st, 1782; and Colonel, January 30th, 1793.

He became the secret adviser to the Vizier on all matters, and amassed a large fortune. In 1790 Lieutenant-Colonel Martin presented the Company, at his own expense, with a sufficient number of fine horses to mount a troop of cavalry for use in the war with Tippoo Sultan. In 1796, when the Company's officers received brevet rank from His Majesty, Colonel Martin obtained that of Major-General.

Major-General Martin was always interested in the arts and crafts and in mechanism of all kinds, such as watch-making, gunsmith's work, etc. To the last his English was very imperfect; in spite of this, he wrote his will in English, and in consequence it was so complicated that expensive litigation was carried on for many years before the surviving executor, Mr. John Palmer, of Calcutta, was able to pay into court upwards of 28 lacs of rupees in 1822. General Martin had died at Lucknow on September 13th, 1800.

The principal bequests under the will were £25,000 to his relatives in Lyons, £15,000 each to the church at Chandernagore and Roman Catholic chapel in Calcutta, and the residual estate to found institutes for the education of European children at Lyons, Calcutta and Lucknow, all known by the name of "La Martinière," the last-named being the best known. It was housed in the palace that he had built, called "Constantia." The Nawab had been so delighted with the house that he had tried to buy it for a million sterling, but the General had declined the offer; and knowing that a Moslem ruler might violate the rights of a deceased owner, but that he would respect a tomb, had ordered that his body should be interred in one of the ground floor apartments, and his remains are believed to lie there in a plain marble sarcophagus. "La Martinière" was disturbed during the Mutiny, but still retains many personal memorials of its founder.

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#### *Appendix "E."*

##### MAJOR-GENERAL LITTELLUS BURRELL.

Major-General Littellus Burrell volunteered in 1769 when aged about sixteen, and proceeded to India in 1770; joined the 2nd Bengal European Regiment, Captain Rawstone's company. In 1771 was promoted Corporal; Serjeant in 1772. In 1774 he was removed, on Captain Rawstone's recommendation, to the

18th N.I. and promoted Serjeant-Major. He was present at the Battle of Kutra, April 23rd, 1774, where he greatly distinguished himself, and during all subsequent service under Colonel Champion.

In March, 1779, he was given a cadetship by Warren Hastings, and on October 10th was gazetted Ensign and posted to the 1st Battalion of sepoy drafts, under Captain Clode. He served under Major Popham at the capture of the Fort of Lahore and Gwalior. In September, 1780, the Battalion became the 40th N.I., and Burrell was appointed Adjutant. In January, 1781, the Battalion became the 33rd N.I.

Burrell was promoted Lieutenant, May 20, 1781, and at the reduction of the Army he was appointed Adjutant to the 2nd N.I., March, 1784, and served in it till 1797, when he was removed to the 2nd Battalion 3rd N.I.; Brevet-Captain, January 8th, 1796; Captain-Lieutenant, 3rd N.I., in 1797; and Captain, August 31st, 1798.

At the end of 1798 volunteers were called for against Tippoo Sahib, and Captain Burrell was appointed to the 3rd Battalion Bengal Volunteers. On landing he took part in the Battle of Malavelli and capture of Seringapatam, May, 1799, and received the medal. The 3rd Bengal Volunteers, under Captain Burrell, formed part of the garrison of Chittledroog, and then marched back to Bengal. Honorary medals were conferred, and the Volunteer Battalion was formed into the 18th and 19th N.I. regiments in May, 1800.

Captain Burrell was transferred to the 2nd Battalion 15th N.I., and served as second-in-command at the battles of Delhi, Agra, and Lasswaree; he was promoted Major, January 27th, 1804; was present at the Battle of Deig, November 13th, 1804, and the four assaults on Bhurtpore. He was invalided in February, 1805, but rejoined in 1806, being removed to the 1st Battalion instead of the 2nd Battalion of the 15th N.I. On November 19th, 1807, he was promoted Lieutenant-Colonel, and on June 4th, 1814, to Colonel. He commanded the 3rd Infantry Brigade of the centre division of the Army under Lord Hastings in 1817, and in November, 1818, was made Brigadier-General and commanded the Company's troops in Oudh; Major-General, July 19th, 1821, and commanded in the province of Cuttuck. He died on September 30th, 1827, in London.

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### *Appendix "F."*

#### HYDER ALI.

Hyder Ali, born in 1722, was the son of a fakir at Budikota, in Mysore, who had found his way from the Punjab to Gulburga in the Deccan. He was the most formidable Asiatic rival the British ever encountered in India. An elder brother rose to command a brigade in the Mysore Army, and Hyder sometimes acted as the agent of this brother. At the Siege of Devanhalli, 1749, Hyder's services attracted the attention of Nanjiraj, the minister of the Raja of Mysore, and within the next twelve years he made himself completely master of the minister and the Raja. In 1765 he began to occupy the serious attention of the Madras Government, but his resources and strategy made him a serious opponent. He forced Colonel Smith to raise the Siege of Bangalore, and brought his army to within five miles of Madras. The result was a treaty in April, 1769, providing for mutual aid and alliance. Hyder was, however, defeated by the Mahrattas in 1772, and his claim for British assistance was in vain. This breach of faith stung

him to fury, and henceforth he thirsted for vengeance on the British. The capture of Mahe from the French in 1779, followed by the annexation of lands belonging to a dependent of his own, gave him the needed pretext for revenge. He descended through the passes of the Ghats, and totally destroyed a British force of 2,800 men under Colonel Baillie, September 10th, 1780. Sir Eyre Coote, sent from Bengal, found himself outmanœuvred by Hyder Ali on more than one occasion in 1781, but owing to lack of co-operation with his French allies Hyder Ali could not benefit by the advantage gained. Coote, though repulsed at Chelambram, defeated Hyder thrice successfully at the battles of Porto Novo, Pollilur, and Sholinghur; while Hyder Ali's son, Tippoo Sahib, was forced to raise the Siege of Wandiwash, and Vellore was provisioned. The British fleet captured Negapatam and forced Hyder Ali to confess that he could never ruin a power which had command of the sea. He sent Tippoo to the west coast to seek the assistance of the French fleet, when his death took place suddenly at Chittur on December 7th, 1782.

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*Appendix "G."*

JEAN BAPTISTE BERNADOTTE.

Jean Baptiste Bernadotte was born at Pau on January 26th, 1763; his father was a lawyer. He enlisted in the Royal Marine Regiment, and as a serjeant arrived off Cuddalore with the French squadron in 1783. The troops were landed as reinforcements for the Marquis de Bussy, then besieged in Cuddalore by the British under Brigadier-General James Stuart.

During a sortie on June 25th Serjeant Bernadotte was wounded and taken prisoner by the Regiment. Colonel Wagenheim, of the Hanoverians, in passing happened to notice him and personally directed his wounds to be dressed. Many years afterwards, when the victorious French under Marshal Bernadotte entered Hanover, Wagenheim, by that time an aged general, attended his levée. Bernadotte asked him if he recollected the wounded serjeant to whom he had been so kind at Cuddalore. The general replied in the affirmative. "That young serjeant," replied the future king of Sweden, "was the person who has now the honour to address you, and who rejoices in having this public opportunity of acknowledging his debt of gratitude to General Wagenheim."

On June 28th, 1783, news of the peace between Great Britain and France was received, and Bernadotte was released. He returned to France and his promotion was very rapid. He was a colonel in 1792, brigadier-general in 1794, and becoming very intimate with Joseph Bonaparte, was introduced by him to his sister-in-law, Desiré Clary, who had been jilted by Napoleon for Josephine. Bernadotte married her. He was made Minister of War in 1799, and on the establishment of the Empire was made a Marshal of France by Napoleon. On June 5th, 1806, he was created Prince of Ponte Corvo.

Owing to the illness of the childless Charles XIII, King of Sweden, an heir to the throne had to be chosen. A large part of the Swedish Army were in favour of electing a soldier, preferably a French Marshal, and of all the French marshals, Bernadotte, Prince of Ponte Corvo, was most popular in Sweden, because of the kindness he had shown to the Swedish prisoners during the late war with Denmark. His candidature gradually gained favour in Sweden, and on August 21st, 1810, he was elected Crown Prince by all four estates. On November 5th, he was adopted by Charles XIII under the name of Charles John, and on the death of Charles XIII, on February 18th, 1818, he ascended the throne of Sweden as Charles XIV. He died March 3rd, 1844.

*Appendix "H."*

## GENERAL SIR ABRAHAM ROBERTS, G.C.B.

General Sir Abraham Roberts, G.C.B., was born at Waterford, Ireland, April 11th, 1784, son of the Rev. John Roberts, Rector of St. Nicholas, Waterford, by his wife, née Miss Sandys. He was appointed to the Waterford Regiment of Militia in 1801; Ensign, 48th Regiment, in 1803; joined the Honourable East India Company's service in 1803 as Ensign, 35th B.N.I., January 1st, 1803; Lieutenant, March 19th, 1805; exchanged to 13th B.N.I., April, 1806; Adjutant, 1807; Brevet Captain, 27th B.N.I., January 1st, 1818; Captain, August 27th, 1822; Major, December 14th, 1826; Lieutenant-Colonel, 1st Bengal European Regiment, September 28th, 1831; 72nd B.N.I., 1841; 15th B.N.I., 1843; Colonel, 1st Bengal European Light Infantry Regiment, November 10th, 1843; 48th B.N.I., November 10th, 1843; 56th B.N.I., 1846; 13th B.N.I., 1849; Major-General, June 20th, 1854; Lieutenant-General, October 13th, 1857; Colonel, 1st Bengal European Fusiliers, 1859; 101st Regiment, September 30th, 1862; General, October 3rd, 1864.

He served with distinction in the Sutlej Campaign under Lord Lake, 1805; at Bundelcund, 1806; as Brevet-Major at Sieges of Komona and Gunnowrie, 1807; and under Sir William Richards in the Nepaul War of 1814-15, was present at the storm of the Fort of Kalunga, and received the medal; commanded the 13th N.I. in the action of Morle-ke-Tebee. In 1828 Lord Amherst, Governor-General, presented him with a piece of plate for departmental services; appointed Brigadier-General to the 4th Brigade in the Army of the Indus, November 1st, 1838, for the first Afghan War; present at the capture of Ghuznee; received the medal and clasp, the C.B., and Second Class of the Duranee Order. Commanded Shah Shujah's forces in 1840, but resigned and returned to India because the precautions he wisely advised were not adopted. He foresaw the danger at Kabul, and had his advice been accepted the disaster of 1841-42 might have been averted.

From March 20th, 1852, to February 12th, 1853, he commanded the Peshawar Division.

He was appointed C.B., December 20th, 1839; K.C.B., March 28th, 1865; G.C.B., May 24th, 1873.

He married, August 2nd, 1830, as a second wife, Isabella, daughter of Abraham Bunbury, widow of Major Maxwell, by whom he became the father of Field-Marshal Earl Roberts of Kandahar, Pretoria and Waterford, V.C., K.G., etc. He died at Clifton, December 28th, 1873, aged 89.

*Appendix "I."*

## MAJOR-GENERAL SIR HERBERT BENJAMIN EDWARDES, K.C.B., K.C.S.I.

Major-General Sir Herbert Benjamin Edwardes, K.C.B., K.C.S.I., was born at Fordesley, Shropshire, on November 12th, 1819. His father was the Rev. Benjamin Edwardes, Rector of Frodesley, and his grandfather Sir John Edwardes, Bart. He was educated privately, and went to King's College, London, in 1837, where he and Charles Kingsley became great friends. He was nominated to a cadetship in the Company's service in 1840, and, embarking in October, arrived in India at the end of 1841. He was posted as Ensign to the 1st Bengal European Fusiliers, and joined them at Kurnaul. He remained in the Regiment about five years, but, dissatisfied with regimental work, he studied Hindustani, Hindi, and

Persian, managed the regimental theatre, and promoted theatrical performances for the amusement of the men. He attracted great attention by the ability, political and literary, which he displayed in a series of letters which appeared in the *Delhi Gazette* in 1845.

In November, 1845, on the outbreak of the Sikh War, he was appointed aide-de-camp to Sir Hugh (afterwards Viscount) Gough, then Commanding-in-Chief in India; was severely wounded at the Battle of Mudki, December 18th, but soon recovered and was again fighting by the side of his chief at the Battle of Sobraon, February 10th, 1846; was afterwards appointed third Assistant to the Commissioner of the Trans-Sutlej Territory. In January, 1847, was made first Assistant to Sir Henry Lawrence, Resident at Lahore. Took part with Lawrence in the suppression of a religious disturbance at Lahore in the spring of 1846.

The following year he was appointed Collector at Bannu, a district on the Waziri frontier, where the people would not tolerate a collector; but by rare tact and resource he completely conquered the wild tribes without firing a shot.

In the spring of 1848, owing to the murder of Mr. Peter vans Agnew and Lieutenant Anderson at Multan, Lieutenant Edwardes was ordered to march to Leiah, on the left bank of the Indus, which he reached on April 25th; he held the enemy at bay till he was joined by Colonel Cortlandt. He describes his position thus: "I am very much like a Scotch terrier barking at a tiger." He won a great victory over a superior Sikh force at Kinyeri (June 18th), and received the local rank of Major. He lost his right hand by the explosion of a pistol in his belt in operations which followed near Multan.

General Wish arrived with a large force, and the siege of Multan was commenced. Edwardes distinguished himself in the final operations, begun in December, which ended in the capture of the city on January 4th, 1849; for this he received the thanks of both Houses of Parliament, the emphatic commendation of the Duke of Wellington, was promoted Major by brevet, and created C.B. by special statute of the Order; the Company conferred on him a gold medal\* and a good service pension of £100 a year.

After the peace, Major Edwardes returned to England, married Miss Emma Sidney on July 9th, 1849, and wrote "A Year on the Punjab Frontier in 1848-49." He received the degree of D.C.L. from Oxford University. He embarked on March 20th, 1851, at Southampton and returned to India; in November, 1853, he was appointed Commissioner of the Peshawar Frontier, and held the post on the outbreak of the Mutiny. It was a post of great difficulty, but Edwardes rose to the height of the occasion; he saw as if by inspiration that a reconciliation with Afghanistan would be of the greatest help and importance. This he accomplished, and he was able, in addition, to raise a large force in the Punjab and send it to help at the capture of Delhi.

He embarked again for England on May 23rd, 1859, was promoted Bt.-Colonel and received the K.C.B., also the degree of LL.D. from Cambridge University at the age of 40. Returned to India in Jan., 1862, and was appointed Commissioner at Umballa and Agent for the Cis-Sutlej states; he was offered the Governorship of the Punjab, but had to decline on account of failing health, being compelled to return to England again in January, 1865. A second good service pension was conferred on him in May, 1866, and he was appointed K.C.S.I. and promoted Major-General in the Indian Army in 1868. Shortly before his death he was engaged on writing the life of Sir Henry Lawrence. He died in London, December 23rd, 1868, and was buried in Highgate Cemetery, and a monument was erected in Westminster Abbey close to that which commemorated the deeds of Warren Hastings.

\* See p. 133.

*Appendix "J."*

## MAJOR WILLIAM STEPHEN RAIKES HODSON.

Major William Stephen Raikes Hodson, third son of the Rev. George Hodson, Archdeacon of Stafford and Canon of Lichfield. He was born at Maisemore Court, near Gloucester, on March 19th, 1821, went to Rugby School, and in 1840 entered Trinity College, Cambridge; B.A. in 1844. He obtained a commission in the Guernsey Militia, but left it in 1845 to enter the Company's service. He landed at Calcutta on September 13th, 1845, and proceeded to Agra and joined the 2nd Grenadiers; was engaged in the Sikh War, present at the Battles of Mudki, Ferozeshah, and Sobraon; was transferred soon afterwards to the 1st Bengal European Fusiliers. In 1847 was appointed adjutant to the Corps of Guides. On annexation of the Punjab in 1849 was appointed Assistant Commissioner at Amritsar, then went with Sir H. Lawrence to Cashmere and Tibet. He was married at the Cathedral, Calcutta, on January 5th, 1852, to Susan, widow of John Mitford of Exbury, Hants, and daughter of Captain C. Henry, R.N. In March resumed his duties at Kasauli. In September, 1852, obtained command of the Corps of Guides. His rapid rise, restless energy and outspoken criticism had, however, made him many enemies. There was confusion in the regimental accounts, and charges of dishonesty as well as of harsh treatment of the natives were brought against him; the first report of a special Military Court, January, 1855, was unfavourable, and he was removed from his command of the Guides. He appealed, and the second Court's report, on February 13th, 1856, fully cleared him of all the imputations cast on him.

He rejoined the 1st Bengal European Fusiliers at Dugshai in April, 1856, and his zeal and energy procured him special commendation. A letter from Colonel Welchman, dated Umballa, January 18th, 1857, says: "On arrival of the Regiment at Dugshai I asked Lieutenant Hodson to act as Quartermaster. I pointed out to him that, mainly owing to a rapid succession of Quartermasters, the office had fallen into very great disorder . . . and that he would have to restore order out of complicated disorder. To my great relief and satisfaction, Lieutenant Hodson most cheerfully undertook the onerous duties. . . ."

The following extracts from two letters when he first joined the Regiment will be of interest:—"March 4th, 1846, Lahore. I am trying to get into the 1st European Regiment, now stationed at Umballa, who have just been styled Fusiliers for their distinguished service. It is the finest regiment in India, with white faces, too, and a very nice set of officers." The second letter: "July 3rd, 1846, Subathoo. I hope you will congratulate me on getting into my present splendid corps, the 1st Fusiliers; now, alas, a mere shadow of what it was six months ago. We could only muster 256 men under arms when we were inspected by Sir R. Gilbert on the 1st. There is a most picturesque body of convalescents present with their empty sleeves, pale faces, and crutches, but looking proudly conscious of their good conduct, and ready 'to do it again.' We are under much stricter discipline in this Corps. . . ."

On May 10th, 1857, occurred the outbreak at Meerut, followed by the massacre at Delhi. Hodson at once rose again to his proper place; and after marching to Umballa with the Regiment, and then to Kurnaul, he was ordered by the Commander-in-Chief on May 19th to raise and command a new regiment of irregular horse, known as "Hodson Horse"; besides this, the Intelligence Department was put in his hands.

He served throughout the siege and capture of Delhi, always cheerful and to the front when anything was to be done. The day after the capture of Delhi,

September 20th, 1857, he obtained permission from General Wilson to capture the king; with only 50 of his own men he accomplished this, and handed him over to the Commander-in-Chief. On the 22nd, with 100 picked men, he started again, and, capturing the princes at Humayoon's Tomb, sent them towards the city under a guard, whilst he disarmed a crowd of 6,000 or 7,000 servants, etc. On overtaking the princes and their guard, he found a large mob of natives had collected and were turning on the guard. It was no time to hesitate or waver, and, appeal to the crowd failing, he took a carbine from one of his own men and shot the princes one after the other.

The critical condition of things in India at the time gained for Hodson's action the approval of all engaged in the work of putting down the rebellion, but, of course, there were others who took a different view.

After the fall of Delhi, Hodson's Horse was sent towards Cawnpore in charge of a convoy of supplies, and went through a good deal of hard fighting.

One of Hodson's most brilliant exploits was his riding from Mynpore to the Commander-in-Chief's camp at Meerun-ke-Serai to open communications between the two forces, when he rode seventy-two miles on one horse through a country swarming with enemies.

On March 6th, 1858, Hodson was before Lucknow. On the 11th he advanced as a volunteer with his friend Brigadier-General Napier, who was directing an attack on the Begum's palace. Whilst looking for snipers he was on the point of entering a dark room when a shot from within pierced his chest. He died next day, and his body was buried on the 12th in the garden of La Martinière, at the foot of a clump of bamboos. The funeral service was attended by the veteran Commander-in-Chief and all his staff.

Sir Colin Campbell wrote of him to his widow as "one of the most brilliant officers under my command." Sir John Lawrence described him as "one of the ablest, most active and bravest soldiers who have fallen in the war." Sir Robert Montgomery wrote: "I can find no one like him. Many men are as brave, many possess as much talent, many are as cool and accurate in judgment, but not one combines all these qualifications as he did."

He was supposed to have accumulated vast stores of valuables, but all his property (save horses) was sold at his death for £170, and his widow was in receipt of two pensions and died in 1884 in Hampton Court Palace, and her whole property was sworn under £400.

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### *Appendix "K."*

#### PRIVATE JOHN MCGOVERN, V.C.

John McGovern was a native of Templeport, county Cavan, and a labourer by trade. He enlisted at Limerick for the Company's service for ten years on November 18th, 1845, and sailed for India in the troopship *Cressy*, where he arrived on September 11th, 1846. McGovern was "always in trouble" until he won the Victoria Cross. This tempestuous Irishman served in the Burmese War of 1852-53, receiving the medal with a clasp for Pegu. He served in the Indian Mutiny and really won the Victoria Cross twice over, as at the Battle of Narnoul, on December 16th, 1857, three sepoys took refuge in a small turret, and there was much difficulty in dislodging them. Orders were given to the serjeant-major to do this. Private McGovern was standing near when this order was given, and volunteered to go himself, and went up the staircase. The serjeant-major was then told to send at least half a dozen men, but replied, "Never mind, sir; he'll be no loss." McGovern heard this, and determined to do the work himself. He



mounted the narrow staircase and reached the top of the wall, where the sepoy were waiting for him. They fired at once, but McGovern, jumping down a couple of steps, escaped unhurt, and then, before they could reload, shot the man in front, and rushing upon the other two, bayoneted them without giving them time to recover. "Jock" McGovern's Victoria Cross was gazetted on June 18th, 1859. "John McGovern, No. 95, Private, 1st Bengal Fusiliers. Date of act of bravery, June 23rd, 1857. For gallant conduct during the operations before Delhi, but more especially on June 23rd, 1857, when he carried into camp a wounded comrade under heavy fire from the enemy's battery at the risk of his own life."

Afterwards McGovern was a changed man, and did not get into trouble for drinking and fighting in camp, etc., as he had done before. He "wouldn't disgrace the Victoria Cross." He received the Mutiny Medal, with clasps for Delhi and Lucknow. He transferred to the 101st Fusiliers on the 1st Bengal European Fusiliers being transferred to Her Majesty's service in 1861, but remained "local in India." When one of the officers asked him if he meant to go into the line or remain "local in India," McGovern replied that he was going to stay in India. "I should have thought," said the officer, "that you'd have been one of the first to go." "No," said Jock, "what'd I be doing in the line with this arm?" He had had his arm badly wounded some time before. He lived till the early part of the year 1891, for his name appears in the list of surviving holders of the Victoria Cross in the Quarterly Army List for January of that year, but not in the list for the April quarter. McGovern's name is spelt McGauran in the regimental roll at the India Office and in the Army List.

The accepted pronunciation of his patronymic seems to have been "Maggoverran." His Cross and War Medals and discharge certificate were sold by public action and bought for eighty pounds by the officers of the regiment.

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### *Appendix "L."*

#### SERGEANT JAMES MCGUIRE, V.C.

Sergeant James McGuire was a native of Enniskillen, and a labourer by trade. He enlisted at Enniskillen for ten years in the Honourable East India Company's service on March 29th, 1849. He sailed for India in the troopship *Ellenborough*, where he arrived on October 10th, 1849. He served in the Burmese War (1852-53), receiving the medal with clasp for Pegu. He again saw active service in the Indian Mutiny. He received the Victoria Cross (*London Gazette*, December 24th, 1858):—"J. McGuire, No. 1863, Serjeant, and M. Ryan, No. 1874, Drummer, 1st Bengal European Fusiliers. Date of act of bravery, September 14th, 1857. At the assault on Delhi on September 14th, 1857, when the Brigade had reached the Cabul Gate, the 1st Fusiliers and 75th Regiment, and some Sikhs were waiting for orders, and some of the regiments were getting ammunition served out (three boxes of which exploded from some cause not clearly known, and two others were in a state of ignition), when Serjeant McGuire and Drummer Ryan rushed into the burning mass, and, seizing the boxes, threw them, one after the other, over the parapet into the water. The confusion subsequent on the explosion was very great, and the crowds of soldiers and native followers, who did not know where the danger lay, were rushing into certain destruction, when Serjeant McGuire and Drummer Ryan, by their coolness and personal daring, saved the lives of many at the risk of their own." Serjeant McGuire was discharged to a pension of one shilling a day on May 16th, 1859, and it is thought he died at Londonderry on December 22nd, 1862.

*Appendix " M."*

## DRUMMER MILES RYAN, V.C.

Drummer Miles Ryan was a native of Londonderry, and a blacksmith by trade. He enlisted in the Honourable East India Company's service for ten years at Banbridge on September 29th, 1848, and sailed for India on the troopship *Ellenborough*. The official records at the India Office say he arrived on October 14th, 1849, but Serjeant McGuire is said to have arrived on October 10th, and evidently he and Ryan went out together and arrived on the same day. Drummer Ryan served in the Burmese War (1852-53), receiving the medal and clasp for Pegu; and again during the Indian Mutiny, for which he gained the medal and clasps for Delhi and Lucknow, besides the Victoria Cross (*London Gazette*, December 24th, 1858):—" J. McGuire, No. 1863, Serjeant, and M. Ryan, No. 1874, Drummer. Date of act of bravery, September 14th, 1857. At the assault on Delhi on September 14th, 1857, when the Brigade had reached the Cabul Gate, the 1st Fusiliers and 75th Regiment, and some Sikhs were waiting for orders, and some of the regiments were getting ammunition served out (three boxes of which exploded from some cause not clearly known, and two others were in a state of ignition), when Serjeant McGuire and Drummer Ryan rushed into the burning mass, and, seizing the boxes, threw them, one after the other, over the parapet into the water. The confusion consequent on the explosion was very great, and the crowd of soldiers and native followers, who did not know where the danger lay, were rushing into certain destruction, when Serjeant McGuire and Drummer Ryan, by their coolness and personal daring, saved the lives of many at the risk of their own."

Drummer Ryan was discharged to pension of one shilling a day on May 16th, 1859. He lived till the early part of the year 1887, as his name appears in the list of recipients of the Victoria Cross in the Quarterly Army List for January, 1887.

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*Appendix " N."*

## LIEUT.-COLONEL FRANCIS DAVID MILLETT BROWN, V.C.

Lieut.-Colonel Francis David Millett Brown was born on August 7th, 1837, and was gazetted Ensign, Bengal Army, December 8th, 1855; Second-Lieutenant, 1st Bengal European Fusiliers, March 7th, 1856; Lieutenant, June 7th, 1857. He served in the Indian Mutiny, received the medal with clasps for Delhi and Lucknow, and was awarded the Victoria Cross (*London Gazette*, February 17th, 1860):—" Francis David Millett Brown, Lieutenant, 1st Bengal European Fusiliers. Date of act of bravery, November 16th, 1857. For great gallantry at Narnoul on November 16th, 1857, in having, at the imminent risk of his own life, rushed to the assistance of a wounded soldier of the 1st Bengal European Fusiliers, whom he carried off under a heavy fire from the enemy, whose cavalry were within forty or fifty yards of him at the time."

When the 1st Bengal European Fusiliers were transferred to Her Majesty's service in 1861, Lieutenant Brown remained " local in India " and did not go into the line. He served in the North-West Frontier Campaign in 1863, and was present at the forcing of the Ambeyla Pass, receiving the medal with clasp for Ambeyla. He became Captain 101st European Fusiliers, August 23rd, 1864; was transferred to the Bengal Staff Corps September 14th, 1865; became Major December 8th, 1875; and Lieut.-Colonel December 8th, 1881. He was placed

on the Unemployed Supernumerary List August 9th, 1894, and died on November 21st, 1895. He had three sons, the eldest, Frank Russell, who was gazetted to the Royal Munster Fusiliers, served with the 1st Battalion in the South African War, and died on April 4th, 1900, of wounds received in the action at Sanna's Post; the second son, Claude Russell, joined the Royal Engineers in 1890. He was severely wounded in the South African War, and became temporary Lieut.-Colonel, R.E., October 2nd, 1915. The third son, Lieutenant W. Brown, was attached to the 1st Battalion in 1908, went to the Indian Army, and was killed in the Great War.

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*Appendix "O."*

MAJOR-GENERAL SIR THOMAS SEATON, K.C.B.

Major-General Sir Thomas Seaton, K.C.B., of Ackworth House, East Bergholt, Suffolk, was born in 1806, son of John Fox Seaton, of Pontefract, and afterwards Clapham, London. He obtained a cadetship in the Company in July, 1822, was appointed Ensign, 1st Battalion 10th B.N.I., February 4th, 1823; transferred in July to the 2nd Battalion 17th N.I., which was converted soon after into the 35th N.I., Lieutenant, May 1st, 1824; took part in the siege and capture of Bhurtপুর. Captain, April 2nd, 1834; went to England on furlough, 1836; returned 1839, and joined his regiment at Cabul, September 8th, 1839. Was with the Regiment when, as part of Sale's Brigade, it had to reopen the Koord Cabul pass, and fight its way to Jellalabad, which it reached on November 12th. Showed great resource during the defence of Jellalabad. He received the medal, and was made C.B., with local rank of Major, October 4th, 1842. Brigade Major at Agra, 1842-51. Major, November 17th, 1852; Lieutenant-Colonel in Army, June 30th, 1854; obtained command of his regiment at Sialkot, January 31st, 1855. In May, 1857, was sent to Umballa to take command of the 60th N.I.; on June 10th the regiment drove away its officers and joined the mutineers at Delhi. On July 23rd he was dangerously wounded at Delhi. Was appointed Lieutenant-Colonel of the 1st Bengal European Fusiliers, commission dated June 27th; made Colonel in the Army, October 13th. Had engagements with and defeated the mutineers at Bibram, Puttiallee and Minpoorie. He joined Sir Colin Campbell at Fatehgarh on January 7th, 1858, and remained there as Brigadier, thus missing the Siege of Lucknow. Awarded the K.C.B. in March. In June was ordered to Shahjehanpur, and on October 8th defeated the Oudh mutineers at Bunhagong. In the spring of 1859 the Brigade was broken up. He retired as Major-General, August 30th, 1859. After spending several years in England, he settled in France, and died at Chaton, Paris, on September 11th, 1876.

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*Appendix "P."*

MAJOR THOMAS ADAIR BUTLER, V.C.

Thomas Adair Butler, born 1836 at Soberton, Hampshire, his father, the Rev. Stephen Butler, being curate there from 1826-1848. His father was son of Thomas Butler, of Bury Lodge, Hambledon, Hants. His mother was Mary Anne, daughter of Thomas Thistlewayte, of Southwick Park, Hants. He was gazetted as Ensign to the 1st Bengal European Fusiliers June 9th, 1854; Lieutenant, November 23rd, 1856, and was afterwards Instructor of Musketry. He served in the Mutiny from June 10th, 1857, was in all the engagements under the walls of Delhi, was galloper to General Nicholson at the action of Nugafshot, and took

part in the Storm of Delhi. He took part in the actions of Gungehri, Puttiallee, and Minpoorie, and was present at the Siege and Capture of Lucknow, where he won the Victoria Cross (*London Gazette*, May 6th, 1859) :—" Thomas Adair Butler, Lieutenant, 1st Bengal European Fusiliers. Date of act of bravery, March 9th, 1858. Of which success the skirmishers on the other side of the river were subsequently apprized by Lieutenant Butler, of the Bengal Fusiliers, who swam across the Goomtee, and, climbing the parapet, remained in that position for a considerable time under a heavy fire of musketry, until the work was occupied." Lieutenant Butler also took part in the subsequent operations in Oudh. He became Captain, January 16th, 1863, and served in the North-West Frontier Campaign of that year, being present at the attack on the Crag Picquet, Conical Hill, and Ambela, and received the medal with clasp for Ambela. He was in command of the guard of honour when the Colours of the Regiment (1st Bengal European Regiment, Light Infantry) were deposited in Winchester Cathedral on July 18th, 1871. He retired with the rank of Honorary Major, September 30th, 1874. He died at Yorktown on May 17th, 1901, after a long illness. His funeral took place at St. Michael's on the 20th. His old Battalion was represented by Lieut.-Colonel C. M. de Longueville, Major S. T. Banning, and Captain G. D. Macpherson, the two latter being at the time Instructors at the Royal Military College.

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#### *Appendix "Q."*

##### MAJOR SIR PIERRE LOUIS NAPOLEON CAVAGNARI, K.C.B., C.S.I.

Major Sir Pierre Louis Napoleon Cavagnari, was the son of General Adolphe Cavagnari (who was a member of a noble Parmesan family and had served under the Emperor Napoleon) by his marriage with Caroline, third daughter of Hugh Lyons Montgomery, of Lawrencetown, co. Down. He was born at Stenay, Dep. Meuse, France, on July 4th, 1841; entered Christ's Hospital, London, in 1851, studied there six years; was naturalized on December 7th, 1857, and passed into Addiscombe, obtaining a cadetship in the Company's service, April 9th, 1858, and being appointed Ensign in the 67th N.I., June 21st, 1858. Arrived in India July 12th, 1858, and joined the 1st Bengal European Fusiliers; he served throughout the Oudh Campaign, 1858-59, being present at the capture of five guns from the Nussirabad brigade on October 30th. He received the Mutiny Medal, was promoted Lieutenant, March 17th, 1860, and in July was appointed to the Staff Corps and gazetted as Assistant Commissioner in the Punjab.

His energy, courage and genial character soon obtained him the post of Deputy Commissioner of Kohat, where he held political charge from April, 1866, to May, 1877, when he was transferred to Peshawar, and served as chief political officer with several hill expeditions between 1868 and 1878, the most important being the Afridi Expedition of 1875-77.

He was appointed a C.S.I. on June 1st, 1877. When the dispatch of a British Mission to the Ameer of Afghanistan, in September, 1878, was decided on, Cavagnari was attached to the staff of Sir Neville Chamberlain; and he was the officer who interviewed Faiz Mahomed Khan when that official of the Ameer refused to allow the Mission to proceed.

After the death of the Ameer, February 21st, 1879, and the succession of Yakub Khan to the government, Cavagnari, in a personal interview, negotiated and signed the Treaty of Gandamak, May 26th, 1879, for which service he received

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the K.C.B. on July 19th. He was then sent to Cabul as British Resident, and entered that city on July 24th ; his reception by the Ameer was friendly, but on September 3rd several Afghan regiments mutinied, and, attacking the Citadel where Cavagnari and the rest of the Embassy were living, massacred all the Europeans. Cavagnari made a stout resistance, but at last his head was split open with a blow ; he fell back against a wall, and just about the same time the burning roof fell in ; his body must have been consumed by the flames.

No Englishman survived, so that the details have had to be taken from native sources. He married on November 23rd, 1871, Emma, second daughter of Henry Graves, M.D., of Corleston, co. Tyrone

### *Appendix " R."*

#### COLONEL THOMAS CADELL, V.C., C.B.

Colonel Thomas Cadell was born on September 5th, 1835, at Cockenzie House, East Lothian, N.B. ; son of Hew Francis Cadell, of Cockenzie, and of Janet, daughter of Francis Buchan Sydserrf, of Ruchlaw, East Lothian. He was educated at Edinburgh Academy, The Grange, Sunderland, and abroad. He received his commission on April 17th, 1854, and was gazetted to the 2nd Bengal European Fusiliers and promoted Lieutenant November 23rd, 1856. He greatly distinguished himself during the Siege of Delhi, and received the Victoria Cross (*London Gazette*, April 29th, 1862). " Thomas Cadell, Lieutenant, late 2nd Bengal European Fusiliers. Date of act of bravery, June 12th, 1857. For having, on June 12th, 1857, at the flagstaff picquet at Delhi, when the whole of the picquet of Her Majesty's 75th Regiment, and 2nd Bengal European Fusiliers were driven in by a large body of the enemy, brought in from amongst the enemy a wounded bugler of his own regiment, under a most severe fire who would otherwise have been cut up by the rebels. Also, on the same day, when the Fusiliers were retiring, by order, on Metcalfe's House, on its being reported that there was a wounded man left behind, Lieutenant Cadell went back of his own accord towards the enemy, accompanied by three men, and brought in a man of the 75th Regiment, who was severely wounded, under a most heavy fire from the advancing enemy." He served throughout the Oudh Campaign (1858-9) with the 4th Irregular Cavalry, and commanded a flying column in Bundelcund against the Bheels (1859-60), being mentioned in despatches and receiving the thanks of the Government for his services. When the Regiment was transferred from the Company's service to the Queen's Service he joined the recently formed Bengal Staff Corps. He became Captain April 17th, 1866, and Major April 17th, 1874. He entered the Political Department, and held various political appointments in Central India and Rajputana. From 1879 till 1892, when he retired, he held the appointment of Chief Commissioner of the Andaman and Nicobar Islands. Colonel Cadell was created a Companion of the Bath in 1907 for his services in the Indian Mutiny. He married in 1867, Anna Catherine, daughter of Patrick Dalmahoy, of Bourhouse, East Lothian, and has two daughters, and two surviving sons—Major Hew Francis, The Lothians and Border Horse, and Patrick Robert, C.I.E., of the Indian Civil Service, Chief Secretary to the Government, Bombay. Colonel Cadell died on April 6th, 1919.

*Appendix "U."*

## MAJOR THOMAS ADAMS.

Major Thomas Adams commenced his military service in 1747 as a Volunteer with the army under the command of the Duke of Cumberland in the Netherlands. He obtained a commission as Ensign in the 37th Regiment, June 25th, 1747, was promoted Lieutenant April 16th, 1748, and Captain August 30th, 1756. He was transferred to the 84th Regiment on December 25th, 1758, and promoted Major on February 27th, 1761.

The 84th Regiment had been raised under Lieut.-Colonel Eyre Coote on December 25th, 1758, and it embarked early in 1759 for India, arrived at Madras in September, and took part in the actions at Wandewash, Arcot, Villanova, and Pondicherry. Whilst serving with Coote, as aide-de-camp, in this campaign against Hyder Ali, Captain Adams was shot through the hip at the Storm of Permacoil on March 2nd, 1760, Coote being wounded in the knee at the same time.

In the middle of July, 1761, the 84th Regiment was transferred to Bengal, and Major Adams was appointed to the command of the army in Bengal early in 1763, and on the outbreak of the war between the Company and the Nawab Mir Kassim on July 2nd, 1763, he took the field with a force of about 3,000 men, including 850 Europeans, against 40,000 of the enemy.

In four months Major Adams fought successful actions at Adji (July 17th), Kutwah (July 19th), Geriah (August 2nd), Undwah Nala (September 5th), captured the forts at Monghyre (October 2nd), at Patna (November 6th), taken 500 pieces of artillery, and totally defeated the enemy, an achievement which can compare with any in the history of the British Army.

His health, however, had been so undermined by his service and the climate that he was compelled to hand over the command of the army to Major Knox of the Bengal Europeans on December 9th, and proceed to Calcutta. There he had a sudden relapse, and died on January 16th, 1764. As soon as the news of this successful campaign reached England, Major Adams was advanced to the rank of Brigadier-General, but he had already been dead some months when his commission was issued.

He is described as a man who "to calmness and coolness in the field of battle united great decision of character and clearness of vision not to be surpassed. He could plan a campaign, and lead an army." Whilst Fortescue says of him: "Had Napoleon fulfilled his dreams and added such a campaign in India to his exploits in Europe, the whole world would still ring with it, yet the conquest of Mir Kassim by a simple English Major of Foot is forgotten. Nevertheless, be it remembered or forgotten, one of the great names in English military history is that of Thomas Adams."

*Appendix "S."*

## ROLL OF OFFICERS FROM

YEAR.	MAJOR.	CAPTAIN.	LIEUTENANT.	ENSIGN.
1716, August ...		Henry Dellebar Richard Hunt	George Borlase Nicholas Rowe	Theo. Gammon John Goodwin
1718, November		Ditto Ditto	Ditto Ditto	Ditto John Gulielmus <sup>1</sup>
1720, December	Richard Hunt	Henry Dellebar	Nicholas Rowe George Borlase	John Gulielmus Theo. Gammon Henry Cross
1721, December	Ditto	Ditto Ditto	Ditto Ditto	Theo. Gammon Eboord Glandorpha Henry Cross John Wyndham
1723, January ...	Ditto	Ditto Ditto	Ditto Ditto	Theo. Gammon Dittlof Myer John Wyndham George Searl
1724, January ...		Ditto George Borlase	Ditto Theo. Gammon	Dittlof Myer Thomas Harding John Wyndham George Searl
1726, January ...	Ditto	Ditto Ditto Nicholas Rowe	John Wyndham	Dittlof Myer Robert Hamilton George Searl Edward Armstrong Thomas Harding <sup>4</sup> John Lloyd
1727, January ...	Ditto	Ditto Ditto Ditto	Edward Armstrong John Wyndham	George Searl Robert Hamilton Thomas Harding John Lloyd
1728, January ...	Ditto	Ditto Ditto Ditto	Ditto	Robert Hamilton James Coult Stephen Cooper <sup>5</sup> J. Baptist Byer <sup>5</sup> Robert Murray William Smith <sup>5</sup> Thomas Harding John Lloyd
1729, January ...	Ditto	Ditto Nicholas Rowe Edward Armstrong		Robert Hamilton Robert Massey James Coult J. Baptist Byer <sup>5</sup> Lawrence Elliott John Johnson William Smith <sup>5</sup> Thomas Harding John Lloyd Stephen Cooper <sup>5</sup>
1730, January ...	Ditto	Ditto Ditto Ditto	Robert Hamilton James Coult John Lloyd Lawrence Elliott	Robert Massey J. Baptist Byer Stephen Boyd <sup>5</sup> William Smith Thomas Warren <sup>5</sup> John Jones Stephen Cooper <sup>5</sup>

## APPENDICES

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AUGUST 1716—DECEMBER, 1730.

ADJUTANT.	GENTLEMAN-OF-ARMS.*	MARSHALL.	SERJEANT-MAJOR.	REMARKS.
	John Wyndham	William Taylor		* In 1720, Master-of-Arms.
	Ditto	Ditto		<sup>1</sup> Serjeant in 1716.
	Ditto	Ditto	Eboord Glandorph	
	Ditto	Alex. Birch	Dittlof Myer <sup>2</sup>	<sup>2</sup> Serjeant 1718.
( <sup>3</sup> )	Ditto	Ditto		<sup>3</sup> Rank, but no name given.
( <sup>3</sup> )	Robert Hamilton Edward Armstrong	Ditto		
( <sup>3</sup> )	Edward Armstrong	Ditto	William Gammon	
				<sup>4</sup> Corporal 1716.
William Gammon	Ditto	Ditto	Robert Massey	
Stephen Boyd	Ditto	Ditto	Anthony Sauter	<sup>5</sup> Brevet Ensign.
Ditto	Ditto	John Carpenter	William Tesdale	
William Tesdale	John Jones	Ditto	James Dunkley <sup>6</sup>	<sup>6</sup> Adjutant in 1736, Brevet - Ensign in 1733.



*Appendix "T."*

## ARMY LISTS FROM 1779—1856.

The following is extracted from General Orders, October 1st, 1779, which publish a complete list of the reorganized Regiments of Bengal European Infantry.

## FIRST REGIMENT OF INFANTRY

(Brigadier-General Giles Stibbert.)

## 1ST BATTALION.

*Lieutenant-Colonel :*

Fred. Upton

*Major :*

Alexander Hannay

*Captains :*

George Renny  
Edward Curfey  
Thomas Harding  
James Moore  
Charles White  
John Grant  
Richard French  
Robert Baillie  
John Worship  
Edward Keard

*Lieutenants :*

John Collins  
Robert McMurdock  
Alexander Thomson  
Thomas Birrell  
Charles Stewart  
David Ochterlony  
John Reid  
John White  
Alexander Grant  
Edward Swift Broughton  
Philip Colebrooke  
John Stewart  
Henry Monk  
Robert Weatherstone  
John Gearie  
William Carden  
Lewis Morley  
Fredk. Davey  
Fredk. McCaskell  
Fredk. Elwood

*Ensigns :*

John Arnott  
Robert Burrows  
T. W. Payne  
John Mougah

## 2ND BATTALION.

*Lieutenant-Colonel :*

William Blair

*Major :*

John Webber

*Captains :*

Silvester Ramsay  
James Dunn  
Robert Davis  
Thomas Bolton  
Samuel Farmer  
Henry Harvey  
Solomon Earle  
William Hyde  
James Denhy

*Lieutenants :*

Ralph Broome  
William Kilpatrick  
James Collins  
Archibald Ferguson  
Cozens Framlingham  
Andrew Smith  
William McCulloch  
Edward Summers  
James Erskine  
Randolph Ransford  
Robert Colebrooke  
Thomas Hawkins  
Edward Clayton  
John Patterson  
John Smith  
John Ralph  
Sutton Donellan

*Ensigns :*

— Villiers  
Henry Wye  
John Jarratt  
John Abercrombie  
J. Walter

## SECOND REGIMENT OF INFANTRY.

(Colonel James Morgan.)

## 1ST BATTALION.

*Lieutenant-Colonel :*

Thomas Goddard

*Major :*

John Stainforth

*Captains :*

John Erskine  
George Wright  
James Buchanan  
Charles Maitland  
Lewis Smith  
Turner Carnac  
Robert Dennis  
Samuel Hunt  
John Cowe

*Lieutenants :*

William Alston  
Thomas Gladwin  
Fredk. Winwood  
Samuel Jones  
Archibald Scott  
Thomas Phipps  
Henry Chalcroft  
Henry Saunders  
John Gowen  
Thomas Williamson  
David Birrell  
J. Dubois  
Thomas Bateman  
William Moore  
William Addie  
James Powell  
James McCleod  
John Home

*Ensigns :*

James McKenzie  
James Hutchinson  
William Hastings

## 2ND BATTALION.

*Lieutenant-Colonel :*

John Tottingham

*Major :*

Jacob Carnac

*Captains :*

Henry Wray  
Christopher Gough  
William Lane  
Stephen Downes  
Patrick Hay  
Robert Limond  
Sir Patrick Balfour  
Charles Forbes

*Lieutenants :*

Thomas Edwards  
Robert Gillespie  
Henry White  
Richard Forbes  
William Moore  
Whitwell Butler  
James Gold  
Jeremiah Symes  
Robert Harrison  
Michael Heffernan  
Patrick Fallon  
Thomas McFie  
Francis Rudledge  
Edward Jackson  
Edward Burnett  
Francis Kinlock  
Francis Britzcke  
Philip D'Auvergne

*Ensigns :*

James Hutchinson  
James Hamond  
John Malcolm  
John Crow  
John Wilson

[From the Official Directory, 1796.]

## FIRST BENGAL EUROPEAN REGIMENT.

## STATIONED AT CAWNPORE.

RANK.	NAMES.	RANK.	NAMES.
Colonel	—	Lieut.	John Carig
Lt.-Col.	Edward Clarke	"	John Anderson
"	James M. Vibert	"	William Prior
Major	Richard Grueber	"	L. B. Morris
"	John Hilliard	"	Gregory Hickman
Capt.	John Gillanders	"	T. H. Welsh
"	Richard Walker	"	William Richards
"	George Hardyman	"	William M. Watson
"	John Darby	"	John Morse
"	James Collins	"	Thomas Whittaker
"	George Ball	"	John Sheepland
"	James Lawtie	Ensign	C. Baldock
Capt.-Lt.	Peter Burrows	"	James Dalrymple
Lieut.	Benj. Cuthbert	"	E. P. Wilson
"	Thomas Long	"	John Robertson
"	Alex. Morrison	"	Edward Clarke
"	James Hodgson	"	Edward Cartwright
"	Thomas Hickman	"	C. M. Roberts
"	B. L. Grenier	"	George Maxwell
"	D. V. Kevin	A.-Surg.	Thomas Phillips
"	John Leslie	Adjutant	Lt. G. Hickman
"	Edward Allison	Q-Master	Lt. A. Morrison
	Joseph Fletcher		

*Facings* : Buff.      *Lace* : Silver.

## SECOND BENGAL EUROPEAN REGIMENT.

## STATIONED AT FORT WILLIAM.

RANK.	NAMES.	RANK.	NAMES.
Colonel	Ed. Rawstorne	Lieut.	Charles Greig
Lt.-Col.	R. E. Roberts	"	John Gillespie
"	George Mence	"	S. Denny
Major	Henry Vincent	"	Edward Parry
"	Thomas Edwards	"	M. Macnamara
Capt.	W. Kirkpatrick	"	Andrew Fraser
"	J. Hutchinson	"	W. E. Leadbeater
"	John Wood	"	J. Carruthers
"	Joseph Channing	"	Anthony Greene
"	W. B. Davies	"	W. H. Hough
"	A. Grant	"	John Slessor
"	Robert Haldane	"	Robert Swinton
Capt.-Lt.	Joseph Wade	Ensign	C. Simson
Lieut.	A. Davis	"	T. Wilson
"	C. Gladwin	"	T. S. Knox
"	G. Robinson	Surgeon	Adam Freer
"	T. Whinyates	A.-Surg.	James Robertson
"	J. O. Rock	Adj.	Lt. M. Macnamara
"	John Barrow	Q.-M.	Lt. Leadbeater
"	P. Baldwin		

*Facings* : White.      *Lace* : Silver

## THE BENGAL EUROPEAN REGIMENT [1802].

" CLARK KA GORA."

RANK.	NAMES.	RANK IN THE REGT.	RANK IN THE ARMY.	REMARKS.
Colonel	Robt. Rayne	8 Jan. '01	—	On Furlough
Lt.-Colonel	W. Scott	21 Ap. '00	1 June '98	
"	—	—	—	
Major	Law Rawstone	10 Aug. '01	—	Invalid Tannah Estab.
"	George Wilton	—	—	
Captain	J. Cunningham	29 May '00	7 Jan. '96	
"	Samuel Kelly	do	do	
"	T. M. Waguelen	10 Aug. '01	do	
"	W. G. Palmer	22 Aug. '01	do	
"	George Downie	22 Oct. '01	do	
"	Peter Littlejohn	—	8 Jan. '98	
"	John Anderson	—	do	
Capt.-Lt.	Thos. Ramsay	—	Capt. do	
Lieutenant	H. Blankenhagen	23 Ap. '97		
"	T. D. Broughton	30 Oct.		
"	James Smith	9 Aug. '98		
"	Geo. Hammond	—		
"	John Stuart	28 Oct. '99		
"	George Moore	do		
"	Anth. Maxtone	do		
"	John Chatfield	do		
"	Edm. Morris	do		
"	John R. Smith	8 Feb. '00		
"	Wm. Hy. Wood	29 May		
"	Jeremiah Bryant	do		
"	Alex. Hamilton	do		
"	Rich. Higgott	4 Sept.	—	Ramghur Batt.
"	James Merriman	13 Jan. '01		
"	William Home	10 Aug.		
"	Edm. B. Higgins	8 Ap. '02		
"	James Auroil	22 Oct.		
"	Foster Walker	13 July '03		
"	Saml. Corbett	do.		
"	Alex. Brown	do.		
Ensign	Thomas Watson	10 Aug. '02	—	Doing duty. Joined immediately after publication.
"	Chance	—	—	
Adjutant	Thomas Ramsay			
Q-Master	John Chatfield			
Surgeon	John Lamb			
Asst.-Surgeon	—			

[From "East India Register," August 12th, 1812.]

## THE BENGAL EUROPEAN REGIMENT.

RANK.	NAMES.	REGT. RANK	ARMY. RANK	REMARKS.
Colonel	John Haynes	22 May '10	4 June '11	On Furlough
Lt.-Colonel	Robert Haldane	27 Jan. '04		
"	Samuel Kelly	4 Sept. '11		
Major	T. M. Waguelen	5 Nov. '08		Dep. Com. General
"	P. Littlejohn	4 Sept. '11	25 July '10	C.O. Hill Rangers
Captain	Sir T. Ramsay, Bt.	27 Mar. '04	Maj. do	Amboyna
"	H. Blankenhagen	21 Sept. '04	27 Mar. '04	C.O. Amboyna Corps
"	T. D. Broughton	20 Oct. '05	29 Dec. '04	On furlough
"	John Stuart	3 Mar. '08	20 Oct. '05	
"	Edm. Morris	15 Dec. '08	20 Ap. '08	Amboyna
"	W. H. Wood	4 Sept. '11	15 Dec. '08	
"	Jas. Bryant	22 June '12	4 Sept. '11	B.-Maj. Dinapore
Capt.-Lt.	R. Higgott	do	—	Ramghur Batt.
Lieutenant	William Home	10 Aug. '00		
"	Jas. Auriol	22 Oct. '02		
"	Foster Walker	13 July '03	—	Amboyna
"	Alex. Brown	do	—	Act. B.-Maj. Dinapore
"	T. Kirchoffner	30 May '04		
"	Thos. Watson	30 June '04		
"	Chas. C. Smith	30 Sept. '04		
"	Chas. Smith	do	—	Island of Banda
"	George Bolton	do		
"	P. S. Van Swinden	do	—	B.-Maj. Amboyna
"	Saml. Watson	24 Oct. '04		
"	Edw. Fitzgerald	20 Nov. '04		Amboyna
"	Robt. M' Kerrell	8 May '05	—	Island of Banda
"	Robt. Ledlie	18 Aug. '05	—	Amboyna
"	John Fulton	12 Sept. '05	—	Adj. Amboyna Corps
"	Wm. Burroughs	22 Nov. '05	—	Amboyna
"	Metcalf S. Hogg	11 Sept. '07	—	Act. Adj. 1 & 2 Mad. Pres. Divn.
"	Joseph Orchard	8 Mar. '08		
"	John Irwin	15 Dec. '08		
"	Hen. P. Carlton	26 Dec. '08	—	Fort Adj. Amboyna
"	Francis Crisley	4 Sept. '11		
"	John Cockburn	22 Jan. '12	—	Amboyna
Ensign	James Harrison	22 Aug. '07	—	Amboyna
"	George Wray	30 Oct. '07	—	Amboyna
"	David Ruddell	31 Mar. '08	—	Ramghur Batt.
"	Ben. Ashe	do		
"	Alex. Irvine	1 Sept. '08		
"	Thos. J. Godney	24 Sept. '08		
"	James Marshall	10 Nov. '08		
"	Wm. Davison	15 Feb. '09		
Adjutant	Foster Walker	26 Feb. '09		
Q-Master	James Auriol	10 Dec. '11		
Surgeon	George Rankin	—	—	Amboyna
Asst.-Surgeon	Patk. Halkit	—	—	do
"	John Eckford	—	—	do

Facings : Buff.

Embroidery : Silver.

## FIRST EUROPEAN REGIMENT.

" Plassey," " Rohilcund," " Mysore," " Deig."

JANUARY 1ST, 1825.

RANK.	NAMES.	RANK IN THE REGT.	RANK IN THE ARMY.	REMARKS.
Lt.-Col.-Comdt.	Edw. P. Wilson	1 May '24	L.-C. 1 June '18	Com. 3rd Bde., East. Front.
Lt.-Colonel	Thos. Garner	14 July '21		
Major	Jeremiah Bryant	11 July '23	—	Judge Adv. Gen.
Captain	Alex. Brown	24 Mar. '16	13 Aug. '15	
"	Charles C. Smith	1 Aug. '18	8 Jan. '17	
"	Robt. Ledlie	11 June '22	1 Jan. '19	
"	Joseph Orchard	1 Jan. '24	27 Mar. '21	
"	Hen. P. Carleton	1 May '24	24 May '21	On Furlough
Lieutenant	David Ruddell	31 Aug. '13	—	Asst. Prof. Hindu- stani, Fort William College
"	Wm. Davison	16 Sept. '14	Capt., 16 Sept. '23	
"	W. H. Howard	28 July '16		
"	George Warren	30 Ap. '20		
"	Charles Wilson	18 Jan. '22		
"	G. A. C. Stewart	11 June '22		
"	Alex. C. Scott	11 July '23		
"	Francis Beaty	do		
"	James Matthie	1 Jan. '24		
"	Charles Jorden	27 May '24		
Ensign	Henry Candy	11 July '23		
"	_____			
"	_____			
"	_____			
"	_____			
Adjutant	_____			
Q.-Master	_____			
Surgeon	_____			

*Facings* : Sky blue*Lace* : Silver*Regimentals of Infantry* : Red.

## SECOND EUROPEAN REGIMENT.

" Plassey," " Rohilcund," " Mysore," " Deig."

JANUARY 1ST, 1825.

RANK.	NAMES.	RANK IN THE REGT.	RANK IN THE ARMY.	REMARKS.
Lt.-Col.-Comdt.	Wm. H. Perkins	1 May '24	L.-C. 8 June '19	On Furlough
Lt.-Colonel	Wm. H. Wood	do	—	do
Major	James Auriol	do		
Captain	T. Watson	1 June '18	8 Jan. '16	Adj., Ft. William
"	Geo. Bolton	1 Jan. '19	1 Jan. '18	
"	Wm. Burroughs	11 July '23	1 Jan. '19	Barrack-Master, 6th or Allahabad Divn.
"	John Irwin	1 May '24	29 Mar. '21	
"	James Harrison	do	28 Feb. '22	
Lieutenant	James Marshall	16 Dec. '14	Capt., 30 Ap. '23	
"	H. Wm. Bennett	13 Aug. '15		
"	J. A. Thompson	1 Aug. '18		
"	David Birrell	20 Oct. '18		
"	John S. Pitts	7 Oct. '21		
"	John P. Ripley	7 May '22		
"	Wm. Shortreed	2 July '22	1 May '23	
"	Thos. Lysaght	11 July '23		
"	Edw. Rushworth	do		
"	R. Crofton	1 May '24		
Ensign	_____			
"	_____			
"	_____			
"	_____			
Surgeon	_____			
Adjutant	J. Marshall	17 June '24		
Q.-Master	J. P. Ripley	do		

*Facings* : Sky blue.*Lace* : Silver.

["*East India Register*," January, 1840.]

## THE BENGAL EUROPEAN REGIMENT.

(RIGHT WING.)

" Plassey," " Buxar," " Guzeratt," " Deig," " Bhurtpoor."

RANK.	NAMES.	RANK IN THE REGT.	RANK IN THE ARMY.	REMARKS.
Colonel	Wm. Dunlop	11 Feb. '39	22 Jan. '34	Q.-Master General
Lt.-Col.	J. Orchard, C.B.	27 July '36		
Major	Geo. Warren	25 Feb. '37	L.-C. 23 July '39	
Captain	Francis Beaty	2 July '33		
"	James Matthie	8 Sept. '35	—	Asst. to Gov. Gen. Agent, N.E. Front.
"	Charles Jorden	16 Dec. '35		
"	Thos. Box	27 July '36		
"	A. Wm. Tayler	25 Feb. '37	—	With Shah Shujah's Army
Lieutenant	Charles Clark	15 Jan. '29	—	On Furlough
"	John G. Gerrard	15 Dec. '30		
"	Wm. Broadfoot	2 July '33	—	With Shah Shujah's Army
"	Wm. Jas. Parker	8 Sept. '35		
"	Jno. W. Bennett	16 Dec. '35	—	Sylhet Light Inf.
"	H. T. Combe	27 July '36		
"	F. S. Macmullen	18 Dec. '37		
"	F. Shuttleworth	20 July '38		
Ensign	R. W. H. Fanshawe	12 June '38	12 June '37	
"	James Pattullo	do	do	
"	Robt. H. Hicks	do	26 July '37	
"	E. W. Salusbury	1 Sept. '38	11 Dec. '37	
"	Geo. O. Jacob	do	do	
"	John Lambert	do	do	
"	E. J. Boileau	do	do	
"	Thos. W. Gordon	do	14 Jan. '38	

*Facings* : Sky blue.

(LEFT WING.)

" Plassey," " Buxar," " Guzeratt," " Deig."

Colonel	P. Le Fevre	18 Dec. '34	18 June '31	On Furlough
Lt.-Col.	Ab. Roberts, C.B.	28 Sept. '31		
Major	J. A. Thompson	27 Sept. '37		
Captain	David Birrell	26 Ap. '27		
"	John P. Ripley	19 June '31		
"	Wm. Shortreed	15 Nov. '36	14 Feb. '35	
"	Thos. Lysaght	27 Sept. '37	3 June '35	Hyderabad
"	Alister Stewart	5 Mar. '38		
Lieutenant	Wm. Edm. Hay	9 May '25	Capt., 19 July '37	Bde.-Maj., Agra.
"	Jas. Rath. Pond	11 May '32		
"	Frank Harrison	2 May '33		
"	Bernd. Kendall	13 Mar. '35		



RANK.	NAMES.	RANK IN THE REGT.	RANK IN THE ARMY.	REMARKS.
Lieutenant	Douglas Seaton	29 July '35		
"	Edward Magnay	15 Nov. '36		
"	John Fagan	3 Mar. '38		
"	W. K. Haslewood	10 Aug. '38		
Adj. to Regt.	—			
I. & Q.-Master	J. G. Gerrard	14 June, '32		
Surgeon	H. Guthrie, M.D.	29 Aug., '38		
Asst. Surg.	Alex. Gibbon	9 May, '37		

*Facings : Sky blue*

## 2ND BENGAL EUROPEAN REGIMENT.

STATION : HAZAREEBAUGH, JAN. 7, 1840.

			<i>Rank in the Regiment Army.</i>		<i>Joined from</i>
<i>Colonel :</i>					
Sir T. Whitehead, K.C.B.		May 1, 1824	Jan. 10, 1837,	Maj.-Gen.	—
<i>Lieut.-Colonels :</i>					
H. Hall, C.B.	...	...	Jan. 9, 1833	—	
Jas. Frushard	...	...	Aug. 9, 1836	—	58 N.I.
<i>Majors :</i>					
C. Andrews	...	...	Oct. 8, 1839	Jan. 10, 1837 ...	64 N.I.
John Cowslade	...	...	" "	" " ...	70 N.I.
<i>Captains :</i>					
Jas. Steel	...	...	Oct. 8, 1839	" " Major ...	41 N.I.
John Wilson	...	...	" "	June 28, 1838, Major ...	17 N.I.
Alex. Davidson	...	...	" "	" " " ...	13 N.I.
Jas. Bedford	...	...	" "	" " " ...	48 N.I.
A. T. A. Wilson	...	...	" "	May 12, 1830 ...	24 N.I.
J. Buncombe	...	...	" "	April 13, 1831 ...	14 N.I.
J. A. Fairhead	...	...	" "	June 26, 1833 ...	28 N.I.
J. L. Revell	...	...	" "	Aug. 6, 1833 ...	7 N.I.
G. R. Talbot	...	...	" "	Sept. 20, 1834 ...	8 N.I.
C. H. Naylor	...	...	" "	July 13, 1835 ...	8 N.I.
<i>Lieutenants :</i>					
C. J. F. Burnett	...	...	Oct. 8, 1839	Feb. 23, 1837, Capt. ...	8 N.I.
Lord H. Gordon	...	...	" "	Mar. 10, 1837, " ...	23 N.I.
W. L. Hall	...	...	" "	July 11, 1838 " ...	38 N.I.
G. B. Michell	...	...	" "	" " " ...	9 N.I.
A. Grant	...	...	" "	Jan. 19, 1839 " ...	36 N.I.
W. Gibb	...	...	" "	Feb. 16, 1839 " ...	34 N.I.
N. Vicary	...	...	" "	Mar. 20, 1840 " ...	4 N.I.
T. F. Tait	...	...	" "	April 8, 1827 ...	28 N.I.
Hugh Mackenzie	...	...	" "	June 28, 1827 ...	56 N.I.
J. H. Mayow	...	...	" "	Oct. 19, 1828 ...	14 N.I.
G. W. Golding	...	...	" "	May 7, 1832 ...	35 N.I.
John Liptrott	...	...	" "	Feb. 25, 1834 ...	30 N.I.
A. H. Corfield	...	...	" "	June 18, 1834 ...	21 N.I.
W. B. Lumley	...	...	" "	Aug. 4, 1836 ...	57 N.I.
J. Barrett	...	...	" "	Aug. 15, 1837 ...	25 N.I.
Thos. Brodie	...	...	" "	Sept. 24, 1835 ...	10 N.I.
M. E. Sherwill	...	...	Oct. 3, 1840	Aug. 4, 1837 ...	69 N.I.
F. D. Atkinson	...	...	" "	June 11, 1833 ...	12 N.I.

## THE ROYAL MUNSTER FUSILIERS

			Rank in the				Joined
			Regiment.	Army.			from
<i>Ensigns :</i>							
Alex. Boyd	...	...	Oct. 8, 1839	Jan. 21, 1835	...	...	5 N.I.
G. Jenkins	...	...	" "	Feb. 9, 1835	...	...	21 N.I.
H. J. Houstoun	...	...	" "	June 13, 1835	...	...	28 N.I.
F. J. Thompson	...	...	Nov. 18, 1839	Feb. 6, 1836	...	...	2 N.I.
R. N. Tronson	...	...	Jan. 23, 1840	July 24, 1839	...	...	—
S. R. Jenkins	...	...	" "	July 28, 1839	...	...	—
<i>Adjutant :</i>							
F. D. Atkinson	...	...	Dec. 13, 1839		—		—
<i>Quartermaster and Interpreter :</i>							
M. E. Sherwill	...	...	Dec. 13, 1839		—		—
<i>Surgeon :</i>							
G. Craigie, M.D.	...	...	Mar. 24, 1840		—		—
<i>Assistant Surgeons :</i>							
W. Pitt	...	...	Mar. 16, 1840		—		—
W. H. B. Ross	...	...	Feb. 15, 1840		—		—

[" *East India Register*," May 24th, 1845.]

FIRST EUROPEAN REGIMENT (LIGHT INFANTRY).  
(RIGHT WING.)

" Plassey," " Buxar," " Guzerat," " Deig," " Bhurtpoor," " Affghanistan,"  
" Ghuznee."

Station : Subathoo.

Arrived, April, 1844.

SEASON OF APPOINT- MENT.	RANK.	NAMES.	RANK IN THE REGT.	RANK IN THE ARMY.	REMARKS.
1798	Colonel	Sir J. Bryant, Knt.C.B.	27 June '35	M.-G. 23 Nov. '41	On Furlough
1805	Lt.-Col.	J. Orchard, C.B.	27 July '36		
1818	"	Geo. Warren	6 Aug. '43	23 July '39	TownMaj.Presidency
—	Major	—			
1820	Captain	Jas. Matthie	8 Sept. '35	M. 22 Nov. '43	Dept.-Com. Assam.
1822	"	Thomas Box	27 July '36		
1825	"	Charles Clark	10 Nov. '43	13 Feb. '41	
—	"	Jno. G. Gerrard	22 Nov. '43	1 July '41	Sub. - Asst. Com. General
1828	Lieut.	Jno. W. Bennett	16 Dec. '35	C. 25 Dec. '43	
1829	"	H. T. Combe	27 July '36	C. 23 July '44	
1835	"	F. Shuttleworth	20 July '38		
1837	"	R. W. H. Fanshawe	3 Oct. '40		
—	"	Jas. Pattullo	do		
—	"	R. H. Hicks	2 Nov. '41		
1838	"	Geo. O. Jacob	16 July '42		
—	"	John Lambert	do		
1840	"	Geo. G. Dennis	1 Nov. '42		
1839	"	Edm. D. Byng	6 Aug. '43		
1840	"	Southwell Greville	4 Nov. '43		
—	"	H. B. Edwardes	10 Nov. '43		
1841	"	Alex. Hume	22 Nov. '43		
1842	"	J. Williamson	25 Dec. '43		
—	"	E. Cunliffe	23 July '44		
—	"	Thos. Staples	1 Nov. '44	10 June '42	
1841	Ensign	H. E. Smith	4 Nov. '43	26 Aug. '41	
1842	"	F. W. A. Hamilton	10 Nov. '43	6 July '42	
1843	"	R. B. Bleamire	do	9 April '43	
—	"	F. O. Salusbury	8 Dec. '43	9 June '43	
—	"	P. Moxon	do	do	
—	"	C. O. B. Palmer	12 Dec. '43	do	
—	"	G. H. Davidson	23 Jan. '44	do	
—	"	John Maginn	6 Feb. '44	10 April '43	
1844	"	H. T. Combe	8 Oct. '44	30 Dec. '43	
—	"	P. R. Innes	2 Nov. '44	do	
—	"	C. R. Wriford	29 Jan. '45	1 Jan. '44	
—	"	Edw. Brown	14 Mar. '45	29 Jan. '44	

Regimentals : Scarlet.

Lace : Gold.

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FIRST EUROPEAN REGIMENT (LIGHT INFANTRY)—*contd.*

(LEFT WING.)

SEASON OF APPOINT- MENT.	RANK.	NAMES.	RANK IN THE REGT.	RANK IN THE ARMY.	REMARKS.
1800	Colonel	George Hunter, C.B.	17 Jan. '41	M.-Gen., 23 Nov. '41	Commg. Field Force, Sukkur
	Lt.-Col.	—			
1817	Major	David Birrell	10 Nov. '43	23 Nov. '41	
1818	Capt.	John P. Ripley	19 June '31	M. 23 Dec. '42	On Furlough
1819	"	Wm. Shortreed	15 Nov. '36	14 Feb. '35	
"	"	Thos. Lysaght	27 Sept. '37	3 June '35	Nizam's Service
1823	"	Alister Stewart	5 Mar. '38		
1821	"	W. E. Hay	10 Nov. '43	19 July '37	
1827	Lieut.	Jas. Rath. Pond	11 May '32	C. 22 May '43	
1828	"	Fran. Harrison	2 May '33	C. 4 Dec. '43	On Furlough
"	"	Bernd. Kendall	13 Mar. '35	C. 1 Jan. '44	
"	"	Douglas Seaton	29 July '36	C. 1 Ap. '44	
"	"	Edw. Magnay	15 Nov. '36	C. 31 Aug. '44	
1835	"	John Fagan	5 Mar. '38		
1836	"	W. K. Haslewood	10 Aug. '38	—	On Furlough
	Adj. to Regt.	J. R. Pond	7 June '39		
	Intpr. & Q.-M.	H. T. Combe	18 Ap. '40		
	Surgeon	W. L. McGregor, M.D.	7 Feb. '43		
	Asst. Surgeon	—			

*Facings : Sky blue.*

[" *East India Register*," January, 1853.]

## 1ST EUROPEAN BENGAL FUSILIERS.

(RIGHT WING.)

" Plassey," " Buxar," " Guzerat," " Deig," " Bhurtapore," " Afghanistan,"  
 " Ghuznee," " Ferozshah," " Sobraon."

Station : Burmah.

Arrived, 1852.

SEASON OF APPOINT- MENT.	RANK.	NAMES.	RANK IN THE REGT.	RANK IN THE ARMY.	REMARKS.
1800	Colonel	Sir W. R. Gilbert, Bt., G.C.B.	25 June '32	L.-G. 11 Nov. '51	
—	"	G. Hunter, C.B.	7 Jan. '41	do	On Furlough
1818	Lt.-Col.	G. Warren, A.D.C.	6 Aug. '43	C. 16 July '49	Commg. Barrackpore.
1819	"	J. C. Tudor	8 Oct. '50	7 June '49	
1825	Major	J. G. Gerrard	1 Mar. '50	—	Hissar Stud
1828	Captain	J. W. Bennett	1 Nov. '44	25 Dec. '43	On Furlough
1829	"	H. T. Combe	do	M. 1 Dec. '48	
1837	"	R. W. H. Fanshawe	21 Dec. '45		
—	"	Geo. O. Jacob	17 June '48	—	Com. 4 Punjaub Cav.
1840	"	Geo. G. Denniss	29 June '49		
1839	"	Edm. D. Byng	23 Jan. '50		
1840	"	S. Greville	1 Mar. '50	—	On Furlough
—	"	H. B. Edwardes, C.B.	do	M. 2 Mar. '50	Civil employ
—	"	Alex. Hume	16 July '51		
1842	"	Jas. Williamson	7 Aug. '52		
—	Lient.	E. Cunliffe	23 July '44		
1843	"	F. O. Salusbury	9 Mar. '45		
—	"	C. O. B. Palmer	29 Oct. '45		
—	"	P. R. Innes	6 Feb. '46	—	On Furlough
1844	"	C. R. Wriford	10 Feb. '46	—	do
"	"	Edw. Brown	do		
1845	"	G. C. Lambert	11 Feb. '46		
1844	"	Trevor Wheler	4 Mar. '46		
1845	"	W. R. H. I. Howell	31 Mar. '46		
—	"	E. St. George	14 May '46		
—	"	H. F. M. Boisragon	13 Oct. '46	—	2nd in com., Kemaon Batt.
—	"	R. J. F. Hickey	17 June '48		
—	"	W. S. R. Hodson	1 Ap. '49	—	Civil employ
—	"	N. T. Parsons	29 June '49		
—	"	G. M. Battye	23 Jan. '50	—	Revenue Survey
—	"	George Price	1 Mar. '50	—	Dept. Pub. Works
1846	"	R. C. Birch	do	—	Gwalior cont. with Regt.
—	"	W. Davison	16 July '51		
1848	"	Wm. A. Pope	19 July '51	—	On Furlough
—	"	H. Maxwell	7 Aug. '52		
—	2nd Lt.	H. M. Wemyss	12 June '49	9 Dec. '48	
—	"	H. Caulfield	18 Aug. '49	27 Dec. '48	
1849	"	J. Morland	25 May '50	11 Dec. '49	
"	"	J. S. Ingram	do	12 Dec. '49	
1850	"	G. E. Ekins	5 Mar. '51	10 Dec. '50	
1851	"	C. MacFarlane	24 Sept. '51	20 Jan. '51	
—	"	L. B. Magniac	do	20 Feb. '51	
—	"	J. W. Daniell	17 Feb. '52	16 June '51	
—	"	E. A. C. Lambert	13 Aug. '52	12 Dec. '51	

1ST EUROPEAN BENGAL FUSILIERS—*contd.*

(LEFT WING.)

SEASON OF APPOINT- MENT.	RANK.	NAMES.	RANK IN THE REGT.	RANK IN THE ARMY.	REMARKS.
1818	Major	J. P. Ripley	1 Mar. '50	23 Dec. '42	A.A.G., Peshawar Divn.
1827	Captain	J. R. Pond	1 Nov. '44	M. 3 Ap. '46	
1828	„	Douglas Seaton	10 Feb. '46	M. 19 June '46	
	Adj. to Regt.	F. O. Salusbury	15 Aug. '48		
	Intr. & Q.-M.	W. R. H. I. Howell	24 Jan. '49		
	Surgeon	H. A. Bruce, M.D.	5 Oct. '47		
	Asst. Surg.	—			

*Uniform* : Scarlet.      *Lace* : Gold.      *Facings* : Dark blue.

["*East India Register*," December 31st, 1856.]

## FIRST EUROPEAN BENGAL FUSILIERS

(RIGHT WING.)

" Plassey," " Buxar," " Guzerat," " Deig," " Bhurtpoor," " Affghanistan,"  
 " Ghuznee," " Ferozeshuhur," " Sobraon," " Pegu."

SEASON OF APPOINT- MENT.	RANK.	NAMES.	RANK IN THE REGT.	RANK IN THE ARMY.	REMARKS.
1798	Colonel	J. MacInnes	13 May '25	G. 4 July '36	On Furlough
1818	"	George Warren	5 Dec. '53	L.-G.	do
1809	Lt.-Col.	F. Jenkins	16 Oct. '51	28 Nov. '54	Civil employ
1820	"	J. Welchman	14 July '53	C. 28 Nov. '54	
1837	Major	G. O. Jacob	—	5 Mar. '56	Punjab Cav.
1840	Captain	G. G. Denniss	29 June '49		
"	"	Southwell Greville	1 Mar. '50		
"	"	H. B. Edwardes,	do	L.-Col.	Civil employ
"	"	C.B.		28 Nov. '54	
"	"	Alex. Hume	16 July '51		
1842	"	Ellis Cunliffe	18 Ap. '53	—	On Furlough
1843	"	F. O. Salusbury	1 Oct. '53	—	do
"	"	C. O. B. Palmer	20 Mar. '54		
1844	"	C. R. Wriford	5 Dec. '55	—	do
"	"	Edward Brown	14 Jan. '56		
1845	"	Geo. C. Lambert	1 Feb. '56		
1844	"	Trevor Wheler	5 Mar. '56		
1845	"	W. R. H. I. Howell	—	—	Sub.Asst. Com.General
"	"	E. St. George			
"	Lieut.	H. F. M. Boisragon	13 Oct. '46	—	2nd in com., Kemaon Batt.
"	"	R. J. F. Hickey	17 June '48	—	2nd in com., 15 I. Cav.
"	"	W. S. R. Hodson	1 Ap. '49		
"	"	N. T. Parsons	29 June '49		On Furlough
"	"	G. M. Battye	23 Jan. '50	—	Civil employ
"	"	George Price	1 Mar. '50	—	Dep. Pub. Works
1846	"	R. C. Birch	do		
"	"	W. Davison	16 July '51		
1848	"	H. Maxwell	7 Aug. '52		On Furlough
"	"	H. M. Wemyss	18 Ap. '53		
1849	"	J. Morland	5 Mar. '54		
"	"	J. S. Ingram	20 Mar. '54	—	Dep. Pub. Works
1851	"	C. MacFarlane	10 May '54		
"	"	L. B. Magniac	17 June '55	—	On Furlough
"	"	J. W. Daniell	5 Dec. '55		
"	"	E. A. C. Lambert	14 Jan. '56		
1852	"	Montagu Hall	1 Feb. '56		
1853	"	G. N. Money	5 Mar. '56		
"	"	J. S. Walters			
"	"	W. C. Cox			
1854	"	T. A. Butler			
"	"	W. A. D. Cairnes			
"	2nd Lieut.	N. H. Wallace	2 Mar. '55	9 Dec. '54	
1855	"	A. G. Owen	18 Dec. '55	4 Oct. '55	
"	"	F. D. M. Brown	7 Mar. '56	8 Dec. '55	
1856	"	N. Ellis	15 Ap. '56	20 Jan. '56	
"	"	A. R. Chapman	27 June '56	4 Jan. '56	



FIRST EUROPEAN BENGAL FUSILIERS—*contd.*

(LEFT WING.)

SEASON OF APPOINT- MENT.	RANK.	NAMES.	RANK IN THE REGT.	RANK IN THE ARMY.	REMARKS.
1827	Major	J. R. Pond	5 Dec. '55	L.-C.	On Furlough
1828	Captain	D. Seaton	10 Feb. '46	20 Jan. '54 20 Jan. '54	
	Adj. to Regt.	H. M. Wemyss	3 July '55		
	Q.-M.	—			
	Surgeon	E. Hare	24 May '53		
	Asst. Surg.	—			

*Facings* : Dark blue.

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